CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 21, 1993 $2.50

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THE TORY CONVENTION

Ms. Prime Minister

The Maclean's/CTV Poll: Can Campbell Beat Chrétien?

A Diary By Pollster Allan Gregg



Kim Campbell, Canada's 19th Prime Minister

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COVER PHOTO BY BRIAN WEED/MAC LEAN'S

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Ms. Prime Minister

6 As new Conservative leader Kim Campbell moved to become Canada's first female prime minister, she and her advisers were planning a series of steps aimed at convincing Canadians that the country can change governments without necessarily changing political parties. She will pick a new and smaller cabinet, begin preparing for an election campaign that will likely start in less than 100 days and attempt to reach out to Quebecers, among whom her popularity lagged far behind Jean Charest's during their leadership campaigns



The superpower retreats

30 Although mainstreet America largely agrees that President Bill Clinton should stress action on such domestic issues as unemployment and violent crime, his soft focus on foreign policy and international trade has caused growing disquiet among important U.S. allies





Passion's prize

58 Montreal's Stanley Cup triumph touched off a joyous celebration throughout the hockey-mad city. But just as in 1986, when the Canadiens also won, the party turned into a riot when vandals trashed downtown shops, destroyed police cars and left one shop owner wondering, "God only knows what gets into these people."



Just Watch Her

Kim Campbell and the Progressive Conservative party have stolen the playbook of the Liberal Party of Canada, circa 1968. At the time, the Liberals skipped a whole generation of seasoned leaders and gambled on a relatively unknown and totally untested lawyer in his 40s, Pierre Trudeau, the man with the penchant for the memorable quote. In making Kim Campbell the runaway front-runner from the outset of the race to become their 16th leader, and the 19th prime minister of Canada, the PCs turned away a clutch of seasoned cabinet ministers. They have elected an intriguing 46-year-old lawyer who is not afraid to turn a phrase ("The difference between me and Madonna is the difference between a strapless evening gown and a gownless evening strap").



PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

Campbell skipping a generation of leaders

Campbell holds out one bold promise—things will never quite be the same again in official Ottawa. While experts are still debating what Kim Campbell is—progressive? conservative?—there is no doubt about what she represents. She is the first person from British Columbia to stride into the third-floor Prime Minister's Office overlooking Parliament Hill, a fresh face from the Pacific Rim. She also becomes the first woman to hold the prime ministry in Canada, a truly stunning and happy occasion that seemed to be underplayed amid all the suits in Ottawa's steaming Civic Centre on Sunday night.

That gender shift, and Campbell's own insouciant style, could give the Tories a formidable candidate in a federal election that is expected this fall. Among Tory delegates in a *Maclean's*/CTV poll taken May 31 to June 2, Campbell's appeal among women delegates was much stronger (51 per cent) than was that of her chief rival, Jean Charest (27). There is no reason to assume that the gender gap will not prevail in a Campbell showdown with Jean Chrétien. Campbell also may have an edge among younger men and women, especially the bulging crop of baby boomers who are now in their late 30s.

Naturally, much will depend on her ability to give voters a better sense of who she is and what she stands for. In the later stages of the leadership campaign, and for her crucial Saturday night speech to delegates, she retreated into a well-scripted shell. Banished was the Kim Campbell who once remarked, in words that any voter could understand, that she found single life in Ottawa "often unspeakably lonely and very difficult." Her victory Sunday night in Ottawa may mean that it is permissible for politicians to start sounding like normal human beings, which would be a refreshing change for a nation grown weary of public posturing.

Campbell will have an extremely busy fortnight. She must deal with the wounds opened in party ranks. She must assemble a new-look cabinet, its size drastically reduced from the football squad that currently exists. And she must appoint a seasoned staff that knows how to run a country, not just a campaign. Her first big tests will come fast. Will she do the same old patronage appointments? Will she duck the hard questions? Will she really be an agent of change? Just watch her.

Robert Lewis

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LETTERS

Quality control

The issue is not day care per se, but the quality of the group day care experience ("Who cares?" Cover, May 31). Research studies from Canada, the United States and Sweden comparing elementary schoolchildren who entered group day care as infants or toddlers with peers who had only parental care until school entry consistently demonstrate that quality day care has no impact on the child's ability to form attachments with his parents nor on the the child's social skills development. The catch is that the day care must be *quality* care. For the well-being and future productivity of the next generation of workers and taxpayers, the people who will fund our old-age pensions, government must ensure that quality child care is available and/or provide financial support to enable parents to stay at home to care for their preschoolers.

Gillian Doherty
Huntsville, Ont.

Separation anxiety is for some children (not all children) a reality when they are experiencing a new environment and/or separation from a parent. However, we do not feel that the photograph you used of a crying child to portray such an occurrence in a day care setting is realistic. Professional child care educators are always present to comfort and reassure a child and his/her parents upon arrival in any centre. Your photograph suggests a lack of understanding of day care professionals and the day care environment.

Gail Tummon,
Ontario Hydrokids Day Care,
Toronto

Thank goodness the national child care program is dead! I realize that there are many families who require financial assistance and I feel that it is in the best interests of their children to provide these families with assistance based on real financial need. However, I do not feel that taxes should go towards subsidizing child care for those two-income families who want to improve their standard of living.

Sandra Evans
Mississauga, Ont.

I take exception to the impression your article creates regarding my husband's and my decision for me to remain at home with our two preschoolers. The decision was not made because we have "enough money to



CHRIS SCHWARZ/MACLEAN'S

Preschooler: what is best for children?

make choices," but rather because of our inability to find a reliable sitter and our belief that the primary caregiver should be one of the parents. Since quitting my teaching position I work at home as a bookkeeper for our small business, tutor privately and have been a teacher on call this past year. I was disheartened that you would single out the fact that we own a small insurance company as the key to our situation. Interpreting that information to mean that we suffer no economic hardship is an unfair assessment.

Valerie Coyle
Burnaby, B.C.

Scalpel cuts

In the picture accompanying "Putting a price on health," (Cover, June 7), the surgeon on the right has moved to the United States and the one on the left will be moving there within two months. Imagining the operating room without these two surgeons present accurately reflects the change in health care as the government pursues its relentless course of cuts.

Dr. John A. Hagen,
Toronto

Brand of censor?

Fred Bruning's portrayal of Patrick Buchanan as a reactionary censor of culture ("A one-man industry of the loony right," June 7) smacks of intellectual dishonesty. If it's a choice between "censoring" shock art by denying taxpayer support, or censoring non-politically correct ideas by hitting the mute button, I'll support Buchanan over Bruning any day.

Arthur Enns
Surrey, B.C.

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone. Write: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont., M5W 1A7. Or fax: (416) 596-7730.

PASSAGES



AWARDED: To actress **Mia Farrow**, 48, custody of three children, her natural son with film-maker **Woody Allen**, 57, and a son and daughter the couple adopted. New York State Supreme Court Justice **Elliott Wilk** called Allen "untrustworthy and insensitive," adding that his affair with the children's sister, **Soon-Yi Previn**, 22, adopted daughter of Farrow and her former husband, musician **André Previn**, 64, "magnified" his deficiencies as a parent. The judge allowed Allen supervised visits with his son **Satchel**, 5, but ruled that he cannot visit adopted daughter **Dylan**, 7, for at least six months and cannot see adopted son **Moses**, 15, unless the boy agrees. As for Farrow's charges that Allen had sexually abused Dylan, the judge said that the evidence was inconclusive. He also ordered Allen to pay Farrow's legal costs.

DIED: Canadian-born Hollywood actress **Alexis Smith**, 72, of cancer, in a Los Angeles hospital. The statuesque leading lady from Penticton, B.C., who played opposite **Clark Gable**, **Errol Flynn** and **Ronald Reagan**, among others, in the 1940s and 1950s, also portrayed Jessica Montfort, one of J. R. Ewing's adversaries, on the CBS TV nighttime soap opera *Dallas* from 1984 to 1990.

DIED: Influential East Coast film and video co-ordinator **Gordon Parsons**, 41, director of the Atlantic Film Festival, of a rare viral brain disorder known as Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, in a Halifax hospital. Parsons was a founding member of several film and media groups and served on the boards of many national and local cultural organizations.

DIED: Academy Award-nominated writer and director **James Bridges**, 57, of cancer, in a Los Angeles hospital. His movies include *The Paper Chase* (1973), *The China Syndrome* (1979, nominated for best-screenplay Oscar) and *Urban Cowboy* (1980).

FILED: By actor **Burt Reynolds**, 57, for divorce from his wife of five years, actress **Loni Anderson**, 42, in Stuart, Fla. Reynolds said that the marriage was "irretrievably broken." They have an adopted five-year-old son.

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LETTERS

Truth and taxes

What on earth has happened to all the millions taken in by the GST ("Squeezing Ottawa," Canada, May 10)? Finance Minister Donald Mazankowski stated in his 1993 budget that "Canadians want a national solution to the national debt problem." Prime Minister Brian Mulroney promised that the GST would be that solution. The candidate for prime minister who explains where the GST revenues are being spent, would surely come up a winner.

R. K. Roberts
Lively, Ont.

Freedom at risk

If Marty McKay and Pat Findlay are offended by the selection of magazines depicting nudity available in corner stores ("The centrefold war," Canada, May 10), I suggest that they are the ones who are offensive. They refuse to acknowledge the possible implication of their foolish prattle: the loss of our freedom of expression, if they are successful. Their concerns are not "collective."

John R. Davis,
Halifax

'Tongue in cheek'

George Bain ("The NDP and the cost of old alliances," Media Watch, May 24) must have had his tongue in his cheek when he criticized certain unions for their attitude towards the NDP as, "We put up very much of the money for this party; therefore, it is ours. Consequently, we expect you to touch no interest that affects us." Of course, Canada's largest corporations have for a century put up almost the entire amount of the funds required to support the Conservative and Liberal parties and have expected that those parties would not touch any interest that was theirs.

Donald F. Woloshyn, QC
Saskatoon

'Sleeping dogs'

Barbara Amiel packed a lot of insight into her column "State coercion: a case history" (May 24) on Ontario's attempt to control its doctors. Canadians are sleeping dogs while political coercion abounds. Buzz words such as paradigm and social contract ought to be alerting us to the biggest attempted paradigm shift in modern times. We are unaware that wresting power from the doctors has been long planned and is but one ploy in an ongoing struggle for state omnipotence.

E. Haig Horner
Vancouver

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Ms. Prime Minister



PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

Victorious after a divisive leadership campaign, Kim Campbell aims to heal party wounds and lead the Tories into an election

Long before the formal confirmation that Canadian political history had been made, the final result appeared obvious. The first ballot to elect a new leader for the Conservative party on Sunday night had just given Kim Campbell 48 per cent of the vote, compared to 39 per cent for second-place Jean Charest. On the crowded floor of the Ottawa Civic Centre, Bruce Anderson, a key Charest supporter, prepared to acknowledge defeat. Approaching Senator Lowell Murray, a Campbell supporter, Anderson extended his hand, smiled and said, "Congratulations Lowell. You guys did it." Less than an hour later, the final ballot confirmed Anderson's words. By a margin of 1,817 votes to 1,630—53 per cent to 47 per cent—Campbell won the battle to become the new leader of the Tories. After celebration and sleep, she began preparing to be sworn in as the country's first female prime minister—and its first from British Columbia—by the end of the month. Said Campbell, 46, in her victory speech: "This great contest within a family is now over. I invite each and every one of you to join with us for the greater battle—our third consecutive majority government."

Even before her second-ballot victory over Charest—backbenchers James Edwards, Garth Turner and Patrick Boyer dropped off—Campbell and her team were planning a series of steps aimed at convincing Canadians that the country can change governments without changing political parties. During the next two weeks, she will pick a new—and smaller—cabinet and begin preparing for an election campaign that will probably start in less than 100 days. In an effort to lend the government a fresh face, she will also likely drop many of the 12 cabinet ministers who have already said that they are planning to leave politics. And she will attempt to reach out to Quebecers—among whom, according to public opinion polls, she lagged far behind Charest in popularity—by making a symbolic trip to the Quebec City area riding of Justice Minister Pierre Blais, a key supporter, during the province's June 24 Fête Nationale holiday.

Those steps will be aimed at convincing Canadians that Campbell brings something more distinct to politics than the fact of her gender alone. For now, as a *Maclean's*/CTV poll conducted by the Angus Reid Group during the evening of her victory demonstrates, many Canadians think that Campbell is likely to do just that (page 12). According to the poll of 800 people, 49 per cent say that Campbell is most likely to bring a new style to government, compared to 22 per cent for NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin and 11 per cent for Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien. As well, Campbell is far ahead of her party in popularity, according to the poll, while 37 per cent of Canadians say that she would make the best prime minister—compared to 29 per cent for Chrétien and eight per cent for McLaughlin—43 per cent nevertheless say that they would support the Liberals if a federal election were held now, compared to 33 per cent for the Tories and eight per cent for the New Democrats.



Campbell supporters cheering her speech to delegates on the eve of balloting: a victory in the voting

That poll illustrates the challenges Campbell faces among Tories and other voters as she prepares to lead the nation. In 4½ years as a Mulroney cabinet minister—first as minister of state (Indian affairs and northern development), then at justice and latterly in defence—she has proven herself to be a highly intelligent, innovative politician who is certain of her opinions and unafraid of controversy. Those qualities, along with her colorful personality, have aroused both widespread interest and sharply differing reactions. Now, whether they love or revile her, Canadians will no longer be able to ignore the Vancouver lawyer.

But before the Tories begin worrying about an election, they must first try to smooth over a series of potentially devastating rifts. The friction threatens to leave the party deeply divided in the aftermath of a leadership campaign that became increasingly bitter as the end drew near. The

most crucial question to be resolved is the future of Charest. In the dying days of the campaign, the environment minister's refusal to say that he would definitely serve in a cabinet under Campbell became a major issue in itself. And although he pledged his support following her victory, his declaration fell conspicuously short of a promise to run again in the next election. Charest now plans to take time off with his wife, Michèle, and their three children while they reflect on the future. But some of his key organizers, including senior policy adviser Tim Ralfe, suggested before the vote that a Campbell-led party would be headed for electoral disaster—and that Charest's political future would be best served if he stepped down before the election.

While some senior Tories express confidence that Charest, 34, will run again in his Quebec riding of Sherbrooke, they concede that there is a chance he might not—and that such a decision would be a catastrophe for the party because of Charest's popularity, especially in his home province. After the final ballot on June 13, representatives from the Campbell and Charest camps met with Labor Minister Marcel Danis, a co-chairman of the party's election committee, in an attempt to help bring about a reconciliation. Said Danis: "Jean must realize that it is absolutely essential to the party that he commit himself. The party owes him something—but he also owes the party something in return."

But Charest's strong showing—at the beginning of the race, he was given virtually no chance of winning—has only increased his own frustration and that of his supporters. Charest organizers acknowledge that the frustration is due, in part, to their own role in heightening expectations. For one thing, they say, they made significant errors in forecasting that Charest would emerge from the first ballot only four to five percentage points behind Campbell. But the bitterness among Charest supporters is also due to the fact that many believe that they were betrayed by Edwards, whose stunning decision to support Campbell after the first ballot effectively ended any hope of a Charest victory.

Throughout the campaign, Charest organizers and many Campbell supporters had taken for granted that the 56-year-old Alberta MP would eventually support Charest. After the Sunday vote, senior Charest organizers told *Maclean's* that in a meeting at 11:30 that morning in a downtown hotel, Edwards's campaign chairman, John Laschinger, and Charest's campaign manager, Jodi White, forged an agreement: if Edwards received more than 450 votes on the first ballot, he would do what he pleased; if he received less than 450 votes, he would go to Charest. Charest organizers added that their candidate and Edwards later confirmed the deal by telephone.

Accordingly, two key Charest supporters, Energy Minister William McKnight and campaign organizer Harry Near, waited for one hour near the Edwards box to escort Edwards to Charest after the first ballot. They were unaware of the fact that Laschinger had met with Campbell's convention chairman, Paul Curley, at 4:30 p.m. in the Campbell trailer behind the convention centre. The two had compared delegate tracking numbers—and the figures matched. They then agreed that if the first ballot reflected those figures, Edwards would go to Campbell. Said a senior Campbell organizer: "Edwards wanted to be with a winner." When Edwards walked along the floor to join Campbell at 6:20 p.m., the Charest organizers were thunderstruck. Said a key Charest organizer: "I feel betrayed. Jodi is stunned."



Delegates whoop it up: even before the vote, hard feelings simmered barely below the surface on all sides

Edwards later told *Maclean's* that he made his decision to move to Campbell when he saw the results of the first ballot. "Mr. Charest knew what I would have to do if the numbers turned out the way that they did," he said. "There was never any deal. There were discussions but there was never any deal." Still, close to two-thirds of Edwards's delegates did not follow him, and Edwards himself appeared visibly glum after joining the Campbell camp. Among Charest delegates, the bitterness was palpable. Travis Shalla, a 21-year-old delegate from Peterborough, Ont., said that Edwards had "told a lot of people to support him on the first ballot—and that he would support Charest on the second." Added Shalla: "If the only thing a politician has is his word, then I don't think he belongs in cabinet. I feel betrayed by Jim."

Even before the vote, hard feelings simmered barely below the surface on all sides—and particularly between the Campbell and Charest camps. In contrast to Charest's own gentlemanly demeanor, his organization ran a hard-edged, aggressive campaign that at times employed questionable tactics. The most public example of that was the convention-week comment by McKnight, he suggested that Campbell supporters were courting an electoral disaster and compared them to the followers of cult leader Jim Jones, whose followers committed mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978. As well, some Campbell supporters charged that Charest workers, by applying "code words" such as "calm" and "stability" to their candidate, were subtly emphasizing the contrast between Charest's status as a married father of three and Campbell's two failed marriages.

The hard-sell tactics used by Charest supporters to woo undecided delegates also came under fire from some critics. Donald Axford, a delegate and 55-year-old Anglican priest from Stettler, Alta., was offended, rather than impressed, when he found himself being lobbied on three separate occasions by Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who backed Charest. Said Axford: "For an ex-prime minister to be lobbying on behalf of a candidate is, I think, in bad taste. I think he should be acting as an elder statesman." Axford, who voted for Edwards on the first ballot, joined him in moving to Campbell on the second.

Charest, who won respect and popularity throughout the campaign for his charm and charisma, also revealed a tougher side during the convention. His aggressive speech on the night before the vote was in sharp contrast to the image he created of himself as a politician who puts public interest ahead of partisan politics. His 22-minute address to the convention almost completely ignored policy while







(From left) Campbell with her father, George, and stepmother, Marguerite; with Jim Edwards after the first ballot; Charest and wife, Michèle, the Mulroney family: preoccupation with 'winnability'

resorting to ritual denunciations of opposition parties—along with a clumsy promise to "take the gloves off" in an election

But that preoccupation with the buzzword of the convention "winnability" reflected an overwhelming preoccupation among almost all the delegates In the dying days of the campaign and throughout the convention, both Campbell and Charest virtually abandoned any discussion of specific policy proposals in order to highlight their respective claims that they were best placed to lead the Tories to re election And, despite ringing promises of 'new politics" by the two main candidates, the most striking aspect of the convention was how much the Conservatives remained attached to the traditional manner of doing things.

In fact, one of the few significant differences between the 1983 convention that chose Brian Mulroney over Clark and this year's gathering was that, as a result of new municipal bylaws, the political back rooms were smoke-free But the important decisions and deals were still made in secret, often by the same faces: many of the operatives who ran this year's campaigns played similar roles with Mulroney, Clark and the other Tory candidates in 1983

And, as always, political personalities clashed behind the scenes Within the Campbell camp her key advisers often privately blamed each other when the campaign faltered. Another problem was Campbell's often testy relations with the media That, coupled with the fact that her press aides frequently neglected to return journalists' telephone calls created an air of hostility on both sides All that led campaign chairman and Newfoundland MP Ross Reid to joke last weekend. "I'm trying to keep everyone from killing each other."

In fact, Reid, after spearheading Campbell's successful campaign, has ample reason to be good-humored In the pending cabinet shuffle, he will likely assume a key position A shrewd and popular organizer with deep roots in the party he has been kept out of cabinet because of the principle of regional representation, which under Mulroney has meant that only one Newfoundlander—currently Fisheries Minister John Crosbie—would be a minister at any one time Crosbie, who brought Reid to Ottawa in 1976 as his special assistant, backed Charest and is now likely to leave politics, leaving the cabinet door open for Reid

Many of the ministers who supported Campbell are clearly hoping to be rewarded, either through promotion or by being allowed to maintain their present portfolios. International Trade Minister Michael Wilson, who initially appeared grudging in his support, became a valuable asset in the final weeks. Although Wilson is expected to leave politics, some observers say that he may now remain in cabinet until the election and perhaps beyond if offered the right incentive. Others certain to be promoted to more prominent positions are Blais and Treasury Board President Gilles Loiselle, both of whom delivered crucial early support in Quebec Loiselle is likely to get either external affairs or finance And, clearly, others also have their eyes on political gains Despite Edwards's assertion that he did not make any deal with Campbell, several of his supporters privately suggest that, in return for his support, he will be content with any portfolio that includes a place on the powerful planning and priorities committee of cabinet.

One plum position that will almost certainly become available is external affairs now held by Barbara McDougall. McDougall, who has already said that she will not run again, was a key supporter of Charest More to the point, there is little love lost between her and Campbell After Campbell adopted the song *New Sensation* by the Australian rock group INXS as her campaign theme, McDougall declared caustically to *Maclean's* "You can only get away with that if you are larger than life Kim Campbell is definitely not larger than life." Other ministers who will likely be replaced are Clark, Finance Minister Donald Mazankowski and Health Minister Benoit Bouchard, all of whom are retiring from politics

But Campbell may find herself caught between the need to reward her supporters and her promise to produce a leaner cabinet Her advisers proudly say that she made no commitments to anyone who helped her on the road to victory. But, those same advisers concede her strong level of support from current ministers will make the task of reducing the cabinet size much more difficult.

The most thorny question is how to accommodate Charest One of his senior supporters suggested before the final result that anything less than an offer to become deputy prime minister would be "an outrage." But some Tories say that there are other strong contenders for that post Blais and Employment and Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt another Campbell supporter

Some Tories suggest that Charest should be given Wilson's international trade portfolio or external affairs. Campbell, who promised several times in her victory speech to "reach out" to supporters of defeated candidates, is likely to wait until after meeting with Charest before deciding on what portfolio to offer him and who to appoint as deputy prime minister

At the helm of a fractious party and facing a looming election, Campbell has much work ahead and little time to complete it. During the initial stages of the leadership race she displayed a heady, fresh brand of irreverence By the middle of the campaign, buffeted by media criticism and conflicting advice, she seemed uncertain how to present herself But during the convention and after her victory Campbell once again appeared confident and more at ease One sign of that came in her victory speech Alluding to the fable of the hare and the tortoise that became the symbol of Charest's campaign, she said, "Jean, I don't know whether I'm a rabbit or not, but you're one hell of a tortoise." The hare and the tortoise was fiction Campbell, not settling for her role in that tale, has already made history

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *with GLEN ALLEN E. KAYE FULTON MARY JANIGAN NANCY WOOD BRUCE WALLACE LUKE FISHER and DIANE BRADY in Ottawa*



Campbell and Mulroney embracing at the convention. deals still secret, but now in smoke-free back rooms

PC 93 COVER

BUSINESS WATCH



Kim Campbell's convincing convictions

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

What Kim Campbell had to accomplish at last week's Tory convention was to demonstrate to Conservative delegates that despite her determination to be herself, she could also be a good party leader That meant coming to terms with the Old Boys' club which has historically run the Conservative party—and continues to do so, even if it's as obsolete as strip poker She had to convince the Tory doubters that if they were serious about winning the next election they had better join the 20th century (just in time) and subscribe to an inclusive human agenda

What ultimately swayed the 800 delegates at large—the party professionals—towards Campbell was that they figured, given a choice at the next election of voting for a Liberal from Quebec (Jean Chretien) or a Tory from Quebec (Jean Charest) most Canadians would probably cast their ballots for Chrétien In that scenario the Liberal leader might have been perceived as the agent of change; the country having just spent a troubled decade under another Tory from Quebec At the same time, somewhere at the back of their tiny-Tory brains, Conservatives realized that having a woman as leader was a definite plus and that family values meant being honest, open and spiritual—not necessarily having 2.2 kids.

At the Saturday night speech forum, the Campbell demonstrators were milling about like bulls in the pens at Pamplona before the animals are driven through the streets behind twisting mobs of agile boys. Campbell's people came on strong to the rock rhythms of *A New Sensation*, but Kim's speech was the surprise of the night.

All through her campaign, she had made it clear that she was ready to accept victory only if it came on her terms. This wasn't arrogance, but her innate wisdom in recognizing that if she could not be herself, she would not be a good prime minister, an office that requires bunches of self-respect and being in touch with one's feelings as much as one's thoughts. She had set limits on compromise, so that if she lost, at least she would not have betrayed her principles She would emerge from the political wars as a whole person, wiser perhaps, but still happy to drop verbal bombs on command

Conservatives realized that having a woman as leader was a definite plus, and that family values meant more than having 2.2 kids

But there were no bombs on Saturday night. Her speech was a straightforward no-nonsense appeal for votes from Canadians as much as from Tory delegates, outlining her vision of a new and improved country, its leader representing "either of Canada's founding genders." It was not great rhetoric, but it was appropriate for the occasion, designed to quiet any remaining uncertainties about her political appeal

Charest's speech, on the other hand, seemed contrived and void of substance He tackled his main liability—the inexperience of youth, but instead of appearing too young, he seemed merely to be untested, which was worse Too smooth by half, he sounded like some cocktail-bar pianist, substituting technique for soul His campaign had been an exercise in circumspection, bound by the high catechisms of Tory orthodoxy: family values, country, God and Quebec's place in Confederation He looked like a professional politician and sounded like a professional politician but he didn't sweat like one Lacking the nerve to work himself up into the frothing passion of a Mulroney in full rhetorical flight, he went for volume, stressing his convictions by raising his voice

Charest also hurt himself badly by waffling, only four days before the vote on whether he would serve in a Campbell cabinet Is this the guy who was supposed to be possessed by the unflappable stability that Campbell lacked? He recanted that pronouncement in his speech, but it was too late

One reason for his defeat was the transparent orchestration of endorsements by various Mulroney ministers that followed a scripted code, never failing to mention her status as a divorced, childless woman, implying that she thus lacked stability inner calmness and family values Charest supporter Bill McKnight's comparison of Campbell followers to Jim Jones's cult may well rank as the stupidest statement ever made by a member of any Canadian cabinet, which takes in a whole lot of territory Campbell supporters took the attack in the right spirit by buying up all the Kool-Aid they could find in downtown Ottawa and toasting the mercifully retiring energy minister

Among the also-rans, Garth Turner gave the best speech of the evening, after stepping up to the dais with the cheeky manner of a pope presuming worship in the heart of Protestant Ireland His voice had the grating quality of a street urchin's yelp, as he pleaded for a well-deserved place in the Tory sun It's a pity that he was so easily dismissed.

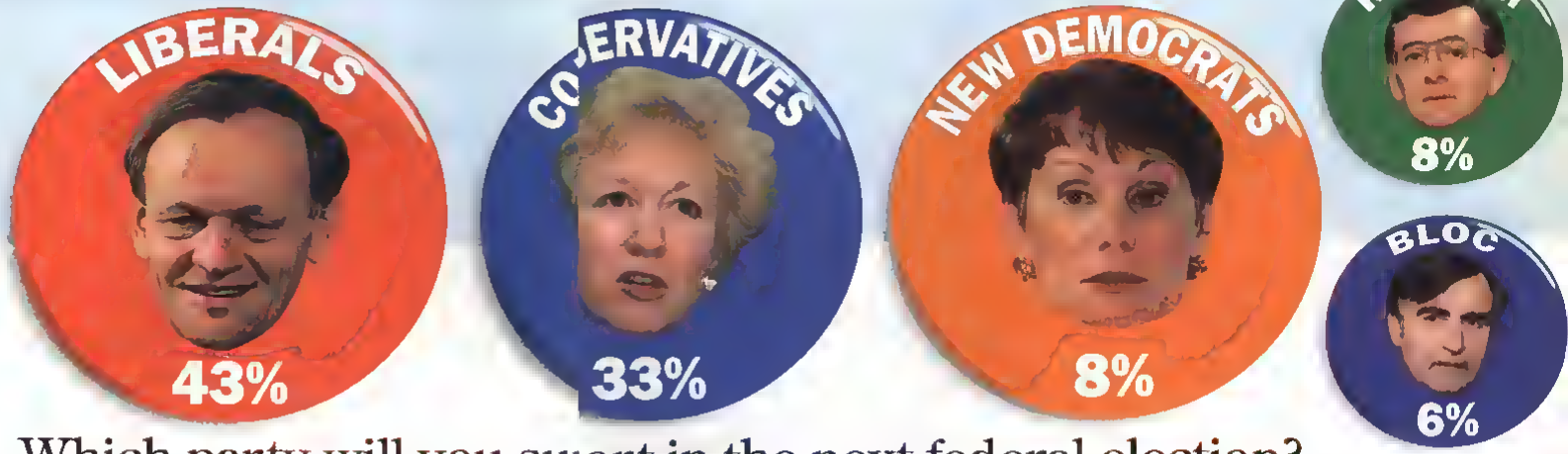
Alberta's Jim Edwards seemed to have some karmic connection with Bob Stanfield and Michael Wilson, the insomniac's best friends being just as exquisitely boring without any compensating sense of heft. Edwards spoke reasonably and well, asking the delegates to fall in love with his voice, which is deep and melodious, turning to gruff when he wanted to sound sincere But his voice (which had served him so well in his original career as a radio announcer) was all he really had to offer—that and his 307 delegates, some of whom pushed Campbell over the top

Patrick Boyer chose not to hone his Saturday night speech with wit or even emphasis, so that he came off sounding like the bored maître d' in a third-rate French restaurant The best thing about him was how well his dark blue suit fit But it was not really enough to qualify for the Tory leadership, even in this age of political 'suits." He looked as uncertain of his purpose as a church usher at a shotgun wedding, ending up with a firm grip on the footnotes of this convention.

You could occasionally spot the party oldtimers left over from the Diefenbaker and Stanfield days their florid faces and worried looks signalling the final passing of their power But by Sunday night, the seeds of a new Progressive Conservative party had been planted

A hunger forchange

'Her first few weeks as prime minister are crucial—her execution has to be flawless'



Which party will you support in the next federal election?

Now for the hard part. All through the Conservative leadership race Kim Campbell portrayed herself as an agent of change—a veteran of the Mulroney years who was nevertheless committed to a fresher, more open style of government. In the end, Tory delegates embraced her message, if only because they feared that anything less would have doomed the party's chances in the next election. But her victory in a sweltering hockey arena Sunday might only set the stage for a new and vastly more difficult challenge. In the brief period remaining before the next federal election, Campbell will have to convince millions of disputed voters that she is serious about introducing fundamental change. If she fails, she runs the risk of becoming a mere footnote in Canadian history—the first female head of government, but the sixth prime minister not to receive a mandate from the public.

For now at least, Canadians appear willing to give her the benefit of the doubt. For a sense of the country's mood towards its 19th prime minister, *Maclean's* and CTV News asked the Angus Reid Group to survey a representative sample of Canadian adults from coast to coast, beginning as soon as the results of the second and final ballot were announced on June 13. Over the next three hours, the polling company's representatives conducted telephone interviews with 800 men and women. Of those surveyed, 44 per cent predicted that Campbell would do a good job as prime minister, while only 30 per cent said that she would perform poorly. Twenty-six per cent were undecided.

Maclean's CTV POLL

Comparing the parties, the Liberals enjoy a healthy lead with 43 per cent of decided voters, compared to 33 per cent for the Tories and eight per cent for the NDP. The Reform party also had eight per cent nationally and 18 per cent on the Prairies, where it trails the Liberals and Tories, respectively. The Bloc Quebecois had 27 per cent support in its home province, putting it in third place behind the Tories (38 per cent) and the Liberals (28 per cent).

But Campbell led when respondents were asked to choose the best prime minister regardless of party affiliation. She was chosen by 37 per cent, with Jean Chrétien at 29 per cent and Audrey McLaughlin at eight per cent. Her support was highest in Quebec (43 per cent) and lowest in Ontario (32 per cent). Respondents between the ages of 18 and 34 were significantly more likely to favor Campbell than were older respondents.

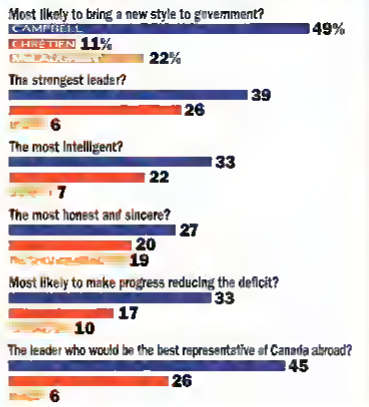
For Campbell, that is the good news. The bad news, pollster Angus Reid speculated, is that her support could evaporate quickly if she fails to transform her rhetoric into concrete action. "There is a halo effect for Kim—she's the winner, she stuck with it and pulled it off," he explained. "But it could be a very short honeymoon. People want to know what difference she's going to make to their lives. Her first few weeks as prime minister are crucial. Her execution has to be flawless."

More than anything, Canadians seem hungry for evidence that Campbell differs in both style and substance from Brian Mulroney. Fully 89 per cent of the respondents in the *Maclean's*/CTV survey said that she should move away from the departing Prime Minister's style, while 82 per cent said that she should move away from the government's existing policies. The results were similar across all regional and age groups and among both sexes. Even among those likely to vote Conservative, 71 per cent wanted a change in policies.

Campbell herself will have to decide the direction of that change. But the survey suggests that Canadians are willing to consider fundamental changes to the country's social programs—something that would have seemed impossible in 1984, when Mulroney took office. Fully 65 per cent of those polled either supported medicare user fees or would support them if they defrayed the cost of health care. And only 22 per cent said that they would be willing to pay higher taxes to maintain existing social programs.

The results of the *Maclean's*/CTV poll are considered accurate within a range of 3.5 percentage points, above or below the figures given, 19 times out of 20. Numbers in charts may not add up to 100 because of rounding or because nonanswers have been eliminated.

Comparing Kim Campbell to Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien and NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin, who do you see as:



Now that Kim Campbell has replaced Brian Mulroney, are you more or less likely to vote for the Conservatives?

MORE 20% **LESS 19%** **NO IMPACT 61%**

All things considered, who do you think would make the best prime minister?

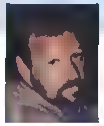
CAMPBELL: 37% **CHRÉTIEN: 29%** **McLAUGHLIN: 8%**

How do you feel about medicare user fees?

I definitely favor user fees as a matter of principle	19%
I am uneasy about user fees, but would support them if they would reduce costs	46%
I am opposed to user fees because they go against the spirit of medicare	32%
No answer	2%

Inside diary

A senior Tory adviser offers an exclusive view of how Kim Campbell won her party's leadership



By Allan Gregg

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

When I arrive only 35 per cent of the delegates have registered and the absence of any real activity is eerie. No one seems to have a fix on the mood and most are reluctant to predict the outcome.

John Laschinger, Jim Edwards's main man and far and away the most experienced of the campaign managers, looks like the cat that ate the canary. Suppressing his normal cheerleader's hyperbole, Laschinger seems to be trying to lowball Edwards's support. He knows that the only way Edwards will have impact is to surprise everyone with his first ballot support. I can't help but think that if Edwards has more than 400 delegates, Campbell is sunk.

On the other hand, Jodi White, Jean Charest's campaign manager, looks surprisingly subdued for someone who has run a great campaign. Either she knows that her delegate count is lower than the media suggests or she fears that the "family values" assaults on Campbell may be creating a backlash. With some of his backers questioning Campbell's stability, Charest's veneer as a leader who is "above politics" may be eroding. It's one thing to strike a low blow against an NDP or Grit opponent. It's quite another to use the same tactic on your own political family.

FRIDAY MORNING

This morning, delegates awoke to newspaper pictures of Flora Macdonald endorsing Campbell and rumors that Ellen Fairclough, Canada's first woman cabinet minister from the Diefenbaker government, will also endorse her. Campbell has been on the defensive for three weeks, but a small puff of wind may have begun to blow in her sails.

Two things strike me as unusual about this convention. In virtually every Tory leadership struggle, the candidates are divided by a right-left ideological split. Not this time. As a result, I am running into an incredible number of ex officio delegates who are genuinely uncommitted. These Tories are the backbone of the electoral machine: members of the party's campaign and policy committees and senior political staff. They are disproportionately Red Tories, who are neutral in this race precisely because there is no right/left cleavage.

Instead, new questions are being asked. Have the media and Campbell's critics applied a test to her that they would never apply to a man? Is the party ready for a woman leader? I sense that these questions might become a rallying point for neutral delegates. Yesterday, there was concern in the Charest camp over a possible backlash to impertinent remarks about Campbell's marital status. Today, a 63 year-old female delegate tells me that failure to elect Campbell will represent a massive setback for women in the party.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

The change in atmosphere is now almost palpable. What is universally referred to as the "gender issue" has stalled Charest's momentum and given the Campbell campaign new life. There is a growing consensus that blaming Campbell's flawed campaign on her gender has been a studied part of Charest's strategy—and a strategic error. Some uncommitted delegates say that if Campbell loses, it will reinforce the age-old notion that the party is anti-women.

Campbell's momentum has been enhanced by an organizational coup. Paul Curley, her convention manager, has beaten the Charest people to the microphones at the policy sessions. Every question thrown at Campbell comes from her supporters—who also supply over two-thirds of the questions for Charest. Consequently, Campbell is lobbed questions that she knocks out of the park ("What would you do about growing crime in the cities?"), while Charest faces queries that demand more politically sensitive answers ("Tell us your views on multiculturalism and immigration").

Even so, Charest acquits himself well. With a stand-up comic's sense of timing, he disarms questions about his age and, almost as successfully, his Quebec roots. As a performer, he outshines Campbell, but he is less satisfying than she on substance. For the first time since my arrival, I hear Campbell people talking about a first-ballot victory.



Campbell, Charest (opposite): the convention has finally been overcome with wishful thinking and overestimation

FRIDAY RIGHT

Everything has changed.

Following a remarkably disjointed and uninspired tribute to Mulroney (so much for my confidence in the party's organizational skill), word spreads of a Gallup poll that will be released on Saturday. It will show a Charest-led party beating the Liberals, while Campbell would go down to defeat.

I had forgotten how fast the delegate grapevine works. At parties and in hotel corridors, delegates talk of little else.

SATURDAY MORNING

I normally take pride in my ability to read a mood, but I simply can't get a handle on what is going to happen.

The Gallup poll has given Charest a boost. But its impact is blunted by controversy over Gallup's analysis, which explicitly implores delegates to vote for Charest if they want to cling to power. As a pollster, I consider it unprofessional.

Campbell's people are glum, yet they are clearly out-organizing the Charest forces on the floor as they prepare for the candidates' speeches. The media always stress the importance of the speeches, and this time the hype may be correct.

LATE SATURDAY NIGHT

Wrong again. My judgment tells me that the speeches changed very little, and that the delegates went away feeling as cross-pressured as when they entered the Civic Centre.

Edwards was solid, Garth Turner was feisty and Patrick Boyer was so laid-back he was almost asleep. When Boyer finished, the crowd rose out of politeness and little else.

By traditional measures, Charest "won" the speeches. He enthralled the crowd with attacks on other parties, and he cemented the view that he is a gifted politician with a talent for stump oratory. But he did little to convince delegates that he could wrestle the deficit to the ground or go toe-to-toe against Bill Clinton in trade disputes.

After Campbell's speech, Nancy Jamieson, one of her key advisers, looks like her dog has been run over. Campbell's delivery was flat. You can sense that she's grown "puck shy" from all the shots she has taken for being accident-prone. Still, while Charest was glib and shallow, Campbell was dull but substantive. She showed delegates that she probably has the stuff to govern, if not win an election.

My guess is that Charest has done more to convert uncommitted voters, furthering the sense that he has momentum. But Campbell may have made some inroads too, gaining second-choice support among Turner, Boyer and Edwards delegates. All of these candidates have taken very strong and definite positions on deficit reduction, and Campbell went out of her way in her speech to establish her credentials in this area.

It will be very close tomorrow.

SUNDAY MORNING

I bumped into Nelson Riis of the NDP and Paul Martin of the Liberals coming out of a CBC *Newsworld* interview. While they agree on the need to tie either Campbell or Charest squarely to the Mulroney record, they differ on who presents the bigger challenge. Martin wants to face Campbell and Riis claims that the NDP will fare better against Charest. I am comforted by the fact that they seem as confused as my Tory friends.



For my part, I have done the math and my best guess is that if Campbell is more than five percentage points ahead of Charest on the first ballot and the other three candidates receive less than 500 votes in total, Campbell will win. If these conditions don't hold, Charest will pull off the biggest leadership upset in modern history.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON

Campbell's people have made efforts to get Turner and Boyer to withdraw from the race and declare a moral victory, having made the case for their pet issues. They fail, but Curley continues to cling to his prediction of a first ballot victory.

Meanwhile, Charest's trackers claim that they are within the magic five-percentage-point margin on the first ballot, and are poised to steal the convention on the second. Laschinger has returned to form and is now telling anyone he can find that Edwards has 600 votes, has no intention of withdrawing after one round and will pass Campbell on the second ballot!

The convention has finally been overcome with the wishful thinking and overestimation that mark the closing moments of any campaign.

FIRST BALLOT

Campbell's organization is, without question, the best I have ever seen at a PC convention. On my arrival, I am engulfed in a sea of pink as Campbell supporters plug the doors to the arena in anticipation of the rush to get the best seats. This *has* to serve her candidacy well.

The overwhelming presence of Campbell hordes reminds me that this is, after all, an intimate affair. We are dealing with a little more than 3,400 people with an average of between 15 and 20 years in party politics. These people have a history with their party, a personal agenda to pursue and are probably nowhere near as likely to be moved by polls, editorial comment or pundits (myself included) as we like to believe. Instead, they will be influenced by their friends and their assessment of how their own stature will be affected by the result.

It is hardly an erudite analysis, but in the end it proves accurate. When the first ballot vote is announced, Campbell looks unstoppable. Immediately, everyone's attention shifts to the next election. We will see whether she has grown and learned from this contest, or whether her tendency to lose support throughout a campaign is endemic.

SECOND BALLOT

Campbell wins.

I can go home and tell my six-year-old daughter that she can grow up to become prime minister of Canada.□

Allan R. Gregg, 41, president and chief executive officer of Decima Research, has been a delegate at Tory conventions since 1976. He will be the party's pollster in the next general election.

Prime minutiae



BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

First minister firsts

Kim Campbell, 46 (on March 10), is not only the first woman chosen as Canada's first minister, and the only British Columbian, she is the first born after the Second World War (1947). She is the fourth to enter the office without a spouse, following lifetime bachelors William Lyon Mackenzie King and R. B. Bennett, as well as Pierre Trudeau who, while in office, was first married (1971), then divorced (1984).

A record in ex-PMs



NATIONAL FILM BOARD

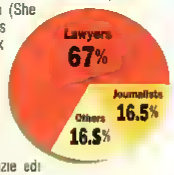
Now, for the first time in its 126-year history, Canada will have four living former prime ministers—Brian Mulroney, 54, John Turner, 64, Pierre Trudeau, 73, and Joe Clark, 54. There were never previously more than three ex-PMs living at any one time.

Lang live the leaders

Prime ministers live long. The average lifespan of those deceased was 78½ years. All but one lived beyond their biblical "three score years and ten." The exception, Sir John Thompson, who died at 49 of a heart attack in Windsor Castle just after Queen Victoria made him a member of her Imperial Privy Council.

A prevalence of lawyers

Lawyers, by a margin of two to one, have dominated the Prime Minister's Office. Kim Campbell will prolong the tradition. (She along with fellow lawyers Jean Charest and Patrick Boyer formed 60% of the candidates vying to replace lawyer Brian Mulroney.)



The three journalists who have served in the PMO: Alexander Mackenzie, editor of the Lambton, Ont., *Shield*; Mackenzie Bowell, owner/editor of *The Intelligencer* of Belleville, Ont.; and Joe Clark, who worked before entering politics for the *High River Times* and The Canadian Press in Alberta. (Defeated Tory leadership candidate Gerth Turner is a journalist who was business editor of *The Toronto Sun*, 1978-1988.)

The three "others" among the first 18 prime ministers: Sir Charles Tupper was a medical doctor, the first president of the Canadian Medical Association (1867-1870); Mackenzie King and diplomat Lester Pearson had been career civil servants.

Endurance records

Liberals hold the records for length of service as prime minister. Mackenzie King served the most time, for 21½ years in all during three spells from 1921 to 1948. But Sir Wilfrid Laurier held office for the longest unbroken period—15¼ years from July 11, 1896, to Oct. 6, 1911. (Pierre Trudeau served just short of a total 15¼ years in two periods between 1968 and 1984.)

Among Tory prime ministers, Sir John A. Macdonald held office just six days short of 18 years in two periods from 1867 to 1891. The closest any other Tory got was about half as much time as Canada's first prime minister spent in office. Sir Robert Borden was exactly three months shy of serving an unbroken nine years from Oct. 10, 1911, to July 10, 1920 (the final 2¾ years as head of a Unionist coalition government). Brian Mulroney, sworn into office on Sept. 17, 1984, was expected to step down only after surpassing Borden's mark on June 18.

Fertility rates

Mary Macdonald, born on Feb. 8, 1869, to Agnes and John A. Macdonald, was the first child born to a prime minister while in office. The second was almost 103 years later: Justin Trudeau, on Christmas Day, 1971. The third and fourth are also Trudeaus—Alexandre (Sacha), born on Christmas Day, 1973, and Michel, born on Oct. 2, 1975. The fifth and latest is Nicolas Mulroney, born on Sept. 4, 1985, the first anniversary of the election that propelled his father into the Prime Minister's Office.



In the upper brackets

Average age of the first 18 prime ministers on assuming office: 56. The oldest, Sir Charles Tupper, at 74, on May 1, 1896 (for the shortest term, 68 days). The youngest, Joe Clark, one day before his 40th birthday, on June 4, 1979.

Two senators held the top office: Sir John Abbott and Sir Mackenzie Bowell, each governed from the upper chamber for spells of less than 18 months.

Signs of the times?

For zodiac watchers of the Tory leadership convention, there were mixed signals. Kim Campbell shares Brian Mulroney's sign, Pisces the fish. Jean Charest's sign, Cancer the crab, is shared with *three* Tory prime ministers—Tupper, Borden and Bennett. Ominously, astrologer Joyce Jillson, charting the stars in *The Toronto Star* on the convention's opening day, warned Pisces people (even as Campbell, for one, sought to solidify delegate vote commitments): "You're better off not expecting others to live up to their agreements." That proved to be a false alarm, but there is another factor. Gemini was in the ascendant as the new leader was chosen. It was the personal symbol of three prime ministers who all lost the top office after brief tenures—Meighen, Clark and Turner. As for runner-up Charest, the horoscope's message for Cancers had been enigmatic: "Check your house for loose wires or gas leaks."

PETER MAYLO/MACLEAN'S

The first eighteen

Prime minister	Party	In office	Birthplace	Born	Died	Age
Sir John A. Macdonald	C	1867-1873 & 1878-1891	Scotland	Jan. 11, 1815	June 6, 1891†	76
Alexander Mackenzie	L	1873-1878	Scotland	Jan. 28, 1822	Apr. 17, 1892	70
Sir John Abbott	C	1891-1892	Quebec	Mar. 12, 1821	Oct. 30, 1893	72
Sir John Thompson	C	1892-1894	Nova Scotia	Nov. 10, 1845	Dec. 12, 1894†	49
Sir Mackenzie Bowell	C	1894-1896	England	Dec. 27, 1823	Dec. 10, 1917	93
Sir Charles Tupper	C	68 days 1896	Nova Scotia	July 2, 1821	Oct. 30, 1915	94
Sir Wilfrid Laurier	L	1896-1911	Quebec	Nov. 20, 1841	Feb. 17, 1919	77
Sir Robert Borden	C	1911-1920	Nova Scotia	June 26, 1854	June 10, 1937	82
Arthur Meighen	C	1920-1921 & 1926	Ontario	June 16, 1874	Aug. 5, 1960	86
W. L. Mackenzie King	L	1921-*1930 & 1935-1948	Ontario	Dec. 17, 1874	July 22, 1950	75
R. B. Bennett	C	1930-1935	New Brunswick	July 3, 1870	June 26, 1947	76
Louis St. Laurent	L	1948-1957	Quebec	Feb. 1, 1882	July 25, 1973	91
John Diefenbaker	C	1957-1963	Ontario	Sept. 18, 1895	Aug. 16, 1979	83
Lester Pearson	L	1963-1968	Ontario	Apr. 23, 1897	Dec. 27, 1972	75
Pierre Trudeau	L	1968-1979 & 1980-1984	Quebec	Oct. 18, 1919		
Joe Clark	C	1979-1980	Alberta	June 5, 1939		
John Turner	L	70 days 1984	England	June 7, 1929		
Brian Mulroney	C	1984-1993	Quebec	Mar. 20, 1939		

*Meighen served for three months in 1926. †Died in office.



Average time in office, 7 years. Eleven PMs (61%) Conservatives, but Liberals in office about 70 years (56% of the time).

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Challenges for a new leader

The economy is the top priority, but the new prime minister faces a range of other compelling issues that defy easy resolution

A single catchphrase both informed and directed the efforts of the team that led Bill Clinton to his decisive victory over George Bush last fall—"It's the economy, stupid." That message, tacked to the walls of Clinton's presidential campaign headquarters, is one that the Conservatives say they are taking to heart as they prepare for a general election later this year. "It is the economy—stupid—but with a Canadian twist," acknowledges Harry Near, an Ottawa consultant and a senior Tory election strategist. "A new leader has to make hard economic decisions without being hard-hearted. That is the overriding issue."

Among the other challenges confronting the new prime minister this summer, some are likely to receive immediate attention—and some too divisive for an election year, will quietly be brushed aside. Still, some problems will not go away. These issues stand out



CASSIDY/CP, JOHN WILDE

Toronto job interview lineup; dislocations

UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment rate, 11.4 per cent of the labor force nationwide this spring and over 25 per cent in some regions of the country, is an election time bomb. Although there are statistical signs that the economy is gradually strengthening, there has been no significant increase in full-time employment. Nor should the more than 1.5 million Canadians collecting unemployment insurance look to Ottawa for any significant new employment programs. The Tories remain firmly wedded to their existing economic policies, arguing that it would be counterproductive to try to jump-start the economy with costly job creation programs. The dislocations now being felt across the country will ultimately make Canada a stronger competitor, they say.

MEDICARE

Throughout the Tory leadership campaign, all five candidates warned of the rising cost of health care. Most at least flirted with the notion of imposing user fees. Within the party, there has been a ground swell of support for that idea. A *Maclean's*/CTV poll of 514 Conservative delegates earlier this month found that 80 per cent favored user fees or would support them if they helped to defray health care costs. On the other hand, both the Liberals and the New Democrats are rubbing their hands with glee at the prospect of a campaign fought over medicare. Tory election strategists will therefore urge the new leader to remain as vague and noncommittal as possible. The goal, some Tories say, is to sidestep the issue in an election—and deal with it if re-elected.

THE DEFICIT

More than anything, the Conservatives have made deficit reduction a recurring theme of their nine years in power. In fact, the government no longer runs a deficit in its day-to-day operations. The real problem is interest payments on the national debt—$39.5 billion in 1992-1993, or almost one-third of Ottawa's total revenue.

In order to make a real dent in the deficit, the Tories would have to introduce massive program and service cuts, directly affecting the lives of many Canadians. In an election year, that's not likely to happen. Instead, the party will search for small but visible ways to demonstrate their commitment to frugality.

GOVERNMENT CUTBACKS

One of the easiest and most popular ways to trim government spending is to reduce the size of the 35-member cabinet—and, perhaps, of the 265,400-member public service itself. Reducing the number of ministers, says Near, "doesn't have a big impact in terms of dollars, but it has symbolic value." Canadians can expect such a reduction soon, probably in conjunction with a cabinet shuffle later this month. In another effort to assuage voters, the government appears poised to propose an overhaul of the generous parliamentary pension plan.

A more far-reaching reform of the public service, however, is less likely in the short term. To do so would mean firing thousands of civil servants and entering into pitched battles with their unions. It would also infuriate such lobbyists and special-interest groups as multicultural and women's organizations, which would be inclined to resist change. Almost every



DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE PHOTOGRAPHIC

EH-101 helicopter: sharp divisions

Rock Island, P.Q. ▼ Stanhope, P.Q. ▼ Ste-Foy, P.Q. ▼ Fort Erie, Ont. ▼ Fort Frances, Ont. ▼ Lansdowne, Ont. ▼ Prescott, Ont. ▼ Queenston, Ont. ▼ Niagara Falls, Ont. ▼ Rainy River, Ont. ▼ Point Edward, Ont. ▼ Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. ▼ Windsor, Ont. ▼ Emerson, Man. ▼ Sprague, Man. ▼ Boissevain, Man. ▼ North Portal, Sask. ▼ Coutts, Alta. ▼ Aldergrove, B.C. ▼ Surrey, B.C. ▼ Grassmere, B.C. ▼ Abbotsford, B.C. ▼ Kingsgate, B.C. ▼ Osoyoos, B.C. ▼ Clair, N.B. ▼ Moncton, N.B. ▼ St. Leonard, N.B. ▼ Woodstock, N.B. ▼ St. Stephen, N.B. ▼ Edmundston, N.B. ▼ Armstrong, Lintlaw, P.Q. ▼ St. Bernard-de-Lacolle, P.Q. ▼ Phillipsburg, P.Q. ▼

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prime minister in living memory has appointed a commission or task force to study civil service reform. But in the end, says David Elton, head of the Calgary-based Canada West Foundation, an independent think-tank, changes are seldom implemented "because no one is willing to bell the special interests."

HELICOPTERS

The Tories have said that they will follow through on their purchase of 50 helicopters for the department of national defence, at a cost of $5.8 billion over 13 years. But they are no longer necessarily committed to the idea of buying them all at once. By acquiring some now, and deferring the purchase of others over an even longer period, they could divert money that could finance election pronuses in other areas. Within cabinet, there are sharp divisions over this question.

PEACEKEEPING

Most Canadians are proud of their country's international peacekeeping role. But at a time of volatility in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, among others, the country's armed forces are coming under increasing strain. This summer, to cut costs and free up personnel for other assignments, the Canadian Forces will wrap up its 29-year UN peacekeeping duties in Cyprus. Voters, however, send mixed messages to their leaders on this issue. "Everyone wants us to slash defence spending, but everyone is also in favor of peacekeeping," says David Haglund, director of the Centre for International Relations at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "Something's got to give."

If the aim is to save money, the real question is whether the government is prepared to close more of the country's 41 military bases and stations. Many of them have little strategic value but serve as economic mainstays in high unemployment areas. The answer in an election year probably not.

EDUCATION

Canada spends more per capita on education than any other country in the world. But there are growing public concerns about the quality of education, and standards differ sharply from one province to another. Under the Constitution, education is a provincial jurisdiction, Quebec, in particular, is sure to oppose any effort by Ottawa to impose national standards. That, in itself, is likely to doom the best efforts of any prime minister.

NATIVE RIGHTS

Native leaders and many other Canadians viewed with mixed emotions the promise of native self-government in the failed Charlottetown accord, in part because the concept was vague and legally undefined. But the process leading up to the accord highlighted the dismal conditions experienced by many natives, and whetted their appetite for increased recognition. Their cause is popular internationally—particularly in Europe—and is certain to return soon to the political agenda.



Peacekeeper in Somalia: proud, but under strain



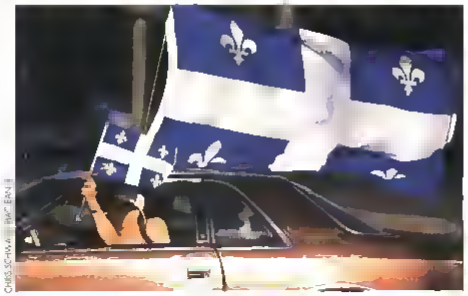
Ottawa Grade 1 class: national standards

CONSTITUTION

Politicians of all stripes (with the exception of those belonging to the Bloc Québécois) agree that there is no more certain way to lose an election than to reopen the debate about constitutional reform. As a result, the Conservatives will want to avoid any detailed discussion of the issue during the campaign. But like it or not, the leaders of every major national party will face pressure to declare a position on minority language rights. The most immediate challenge to national unity is the next provincial election in Quebec, which is likely in early 1993. If the Parti Québécois wins, the country can expect another referendum in the province on sovereignty later that year. And even if the Liberals return to power, their leader—either Robert Bourassa or his successor—will push for increased powers for the province. That would probably unleash similar demands from provinces and special interest groups across the country.

* * * * * *

Even before the new Conservative leader is sworn in as prime minister, the clamor of groups, regions and individuals seeking attention and government action will begin. Many will insist that their own problems and concerns outrank all others on the political agenda. For new heads of government, there has always been a simple way to deal with those demands: blame every conceivable problem on the previous administration, and promise that in future things will be different. But when the incoming prime minister is replacing someone from the same political party, that option is unavailable. The challenge facing the Conservatives now is to demonstrate to their own supporters that the more things change, the more they stay the same—and to convince the rest of the country that the reverse is true.



Montrealers on St-Jean-Baptiste Day: a push for power?

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH
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CTV

Training camp

The opposition parties are limbering up for a fall campaign



Chrétien, McLaughlin (below) seeking coverage

The effort was worthy of any election campaign. For two days late last month, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien waded into hostile territory, touring seven Quebec ridings now held by the Conservatives, the Bloc Québécois or the NDP. Travelling by bus, Chrétien met party workers, showcased some of the party's new candidates and mingled with voters. In many of his appearances he sported a denim shirt—the same one he wears in a series of campaign posters designed to project a casual, youthful appearance. One afternoon in St-Jean Chrysostome, near Quebec City, the 59-year-old Liberal leader took part in a softball game and, swinging the bat valiantly, joked that he was in "spring training" for the federal election expected this summer or fall.

Beyond portraying Chrétien as a man eager to step up to the election plate, the trip was designed to divert media attention from the Tory leadership race. It worked. Two weeks before the convention, Quebec's newspapers featured front-page stories on Chrétien's trip. The Liberals, like the other opposition parties, now have to convince voters that the change in Tory leadership does not mean a change in direction for the government. Chrétien, in Quebec, repeatedly referred to Kim Campbell and Jean Charest, respectively, as "Mulroney in a skirt" and "Mulroney in drapers."



More seriously, the Liberals plan to campaign in defence of universal health care, arguing that a re-elected Tory government would introduce user fees. Said Montreal Liberal MP Paul Martin: "There is a clear difference between us and the Conservatives. They are prepared to introduce user fees in the health system. Our position is unequivocal: user fees do not work."

Meanwhile, New Democratic Leader Audrey McLaughlin has begun campaigning on her party's commitment to full employment. In February, McLaughlin unveiled an 11-point economic strategy that, she said, would create jobs, generate new tax revenue and thereby reduce the deficit. The plan, which McLaughlin says would bring in more money than it would cost, calls for the creation of a national investment fund, a national council on education and the elimination of the Goods and Services Tax over five years. As well, the NDP is the only major federal party committed to cancelling the Free Trade Agreement with the United States and the planned North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico.

Reform party Leader Preston Manning faces a more difficult task in distinguishing his team from the Conservatives, because both parties advocate reduced spending and smaller government. But Reform workers were gleeful in the days before the Tory convention when a befuddled Campbell supporter mistakenly faxed them a three-paragraph summary of Campbell's strategy to fight Reform. The statement paid Reform a backhanded compliment by asserting that Campbell's "fresh, straightforward style of politics will attract the large, disenchanted segment of Canadian voters. Many of those people have been attracted by the Reform party simply because it appears different."

That analysis could also be applied to the Bloc Québécois, whose organizers are hoping to garner support from Quebec sovereigntists as well as disenchanted federalists from the mainstream parties. Bloc Leader Lucien Bouchard has been crisscrossing Quebec this spring delivering his independence message at nomination meetings—and the party planned to flesh out its election strategy at a meeting in Quebec City on June 18 to 20.

Although the Tories have grabbed the media spotlight lately, all four opposition parties can find consolation in the results of a recent survey by Liberal party pollster Michael Marzolini. The survey indicated that 52 per cent of respondents were paying little or no attention to the Tory leadership race. Only 10 per cent claimed to be paying close attention—a remarkably low level of interest in an event leading directly to the choice of the country's 19th prime minister. Still, the other parties should perhaps reflect on whether the public apathy applies only to the Tories—or to all politicians, including themselves.

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Goat meat is in, smart kids out

BY BARBARA AMIEL

OK, I'm biased. The first reason I like University of Toronto Schools (UTS) is because it tolerated me. Back in the late 1970s, when to be a classical liberal or a neo-conservative was intellectual death, the only school that asked me to come and talk to its students was UTS. Though virtually no one agreed with my ideas on such diverse matters as the wretched North-South dialogue or the future of feminism, the students were all uncannily clean, bespectacled and quite acute in their questions. They debated well, too, rather like the old days of the Oxford Union. Liking a school because it encourages diversity of thought is, come to think of it, not such a biased view at all.

The second reason I like the school is because two of my three nephews have attended it, and they seem to have turned out rather well. The school had only four computers when my first nephew graduated from it about four years ago. All the same, he ended up being headhunted by Seattle-based Microsoft. The second nephew, David, has been a bit of a family problem because of his absentmindedness: thus, he forgets to put shoes on occasionally when he goes out. His father sweated through the day David wrote his entrance exams for UTS and, not wanting to fall into the category of pushy parent, tried to be cool. "Exams OK?" he finally managed after 10 minutes of silence on the way home. "Sure," replied David, "but I didn't finish the arithmetic questions—I went to the bathroom and got lost on the way back." Even though he was admitted to the school, there is a family tradition now of keeping all children off liquids for five hours prior to exams.

UTS is affiliated with the University of Toronto. The school began in 1910 as a sort of laboratory for teaching methods. Each year it takes in 78 kids at Grade 7 level from the more than 900 who write the entrance exams. Places are awarded strictly on merit. The fees are $3,500 a year. If the parents can't afford it, there are full or partial bursaries. Half the students are girls, one-third are Orientals (they, currently, being the most highly motivated group—30 years ago it would have been Jews, and in a few years time it may be Ethiopians). The only thing they have in common is that they are smart as blazes.

Subsidizing the brightest kids is Canada's best, if not only, chance of building a better world

Actually, they have something else in common. Their school is under threat because the Ontario government has said that starting in 1994 its $1.35-million-a-year UTS subsidy will be stopped. In the year of the social contract, brainy schools are out. Go figure.

In fact, I can't argue with the policy direction of Ontario's NDP government. Budget cuts are a fiscal imperative. One can remark on the irony of a situation in which the NDP comes to power just when all the policies it advocated and helped into being have come home to roost, economically speaking. Spend, spend, spend was the cry of the Opposition NDP as they called for new ministries, new entitlements, new layers of bureaucracy and got them. Now, everyone has their own special bit of patronage or interest they want protected from swingeing cuts. And I can't even say that I am absolutely sure that UTS has the best teachers in Ontario or that its ambitious programs (such as the model UN assembly or its courses entitled "Thinking") are entirely successful. All I know is this: minimally, this school is making an attempt to educate the brightest kids in the province. After abolishing half of the Ontario government's ministries, this would be one of the last 10 expenditures I'd touch. And if the government doesn't see what else can be cut first, let me offer some suggestions.

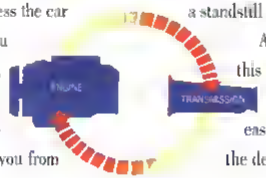
According to the Ontario budget, the Office Responsible for Women's Issues has a 1993-1994 budget of $24 million. As well, pay equity will cost the province $448 million in 1993 and, when fully implemented, $1 billion in order "to promote greater equity for women." Given that 50 per cent of the students at UTS are female, perhaps a teeny cut could be made in that billion-plus budget. Meanwhile, anti-racism will cost an "additional" $10 million; aboriginal land claims, self-government negotiations and infrastructure will cost $49 million, which is an *increase* of $36 million over the aboriginal budget for 1990—which may account for some of the need (see above) for that increased anti-racism budget.

Myself, I could see cuts being made in the Sustainable Forest Initiative or perhaps the Accelerated Waste Reduction program even though Ontario will be the first province in Canada to enact an Environmental Bill of Rights (budget: $4.5 million and 15 new bureaucrats, plus one commissioner). Perhaps bright kids need a bill of rights even more than trees. Then, there is the $4 million being spent on turning our road signs bilingual. I do not know what the Goat Red Meat Advisory Board does, nor do I know about the Wolf Damage Assessment Board nor, indeed, the Ontario Winery Adjustment Program. I suppose every group in Ontario needs shelter aid and its own therapist so why shouldn't potatoes have a Financial Protection Board, which would explain the competitive need for a Vegetable Financial Protection Board.

Finally, (though not comprehensively), I have an invitation from the lieutenant-governor of Ontario, the Hon. Henry N. R. Jackman, requesting the pleasure of my company at a reception on June 28, "Honouring Friends of the Lesbian and Gay Community Appeal." I don't really care if human beings couple with men, women or beached whales, but in these tough times, perhaps this is one reception too many. Come to think of it, why does Ontario need a lieutenant-governor at all? Mr. Jackman, a clever, accomplished and wealthy man in his own right, would probably pay to do the job. And his sacrifice could help the nation far more than any plumed hat. Because subsidizing the kids at UTS—perhaps with his office's savings—is Canada's best, if not only, chance of building a better world. From Hal Jackman to Bob Rae, from Michele Landsberg, who wrote in favor of UTS in *The Toronto Star*, to myself, the fix has to be in—for our kids, for the school that caters to brain power and for $1.35 million to the deserving innocents who may yet save this land.

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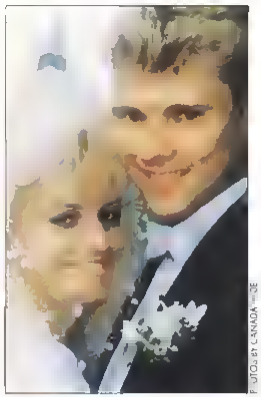


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POLICING THE PRESS



Homolka and Teale (Bernardo) at June, 1991, wedding; Teale under arrest (right); a ban on reports?

A LURID CASE DRAWS LEGIONS OF REPORTERS; LAWYERS FIGHT TO GUARANTEE FAIR TRIALS

In 1982, the case of a New Brunswick man accused of strangling an 80-year-old woman was a major story for reporters working in the U.S. border town of Madawaska, Me., (population 5,000). As the local correspondent for the biggest newspaper in the state, the Bangor *Daily News*, journalist Beurmond Banville made the two-kilometre drive across the border to Edmunston, N.B., to cover the preliminary murder hearing. The Canadian judge issued a ban on publication of the proceedings—a normal order for a preliminary hearing. But, as an American, Banville thought that he was exempt from the order and reported details of that day's testimony in his paper, which was distributed in Edmunston. That week, the RCMP charged Banville with contempt of court. He voluntarily returned to Canada for trial and was found guilty—although he later received a discharge. "You have to be very careful when you're reporting in Canadian courts," said Banville, now 48. "They will convict an American journalist for breaking their rules."

That could be a useful caveat for Banville's counterparts in Buffalo and Niagara Falls, N.Y., who may face a publication ban in an even bigger Canadian crime story—that of Paul Jason Teale and his estranged wife, Karla Homolka Teale, formerly known as Paul Bernardo, faces two counts of first-degree murder in the sex slayings of two southern Ontario teenagers in 1991 and 1992. The 28-year-old also faces 43 sex-assault charges for a series of rapes that took place between 1983 and 1990 in Toronto. His 23-year-old wife will go to trial on June 28 on manslaughter charges for her alleged role in the crimes, but Teale's lawyer has applied for a publication ban on any details that might come out at her trial until Teale himself has had his day in court—next year at the earliest. While Canadian journalists would be strictly bound by such a ban, reporters from the other side of the border may try to get around it. "My journalistic instinct is to go ahead and report everything, but we haven't made a final decision," declared Stevan Van Vliet, news director for Buffalo TV station WKBW. "Our lawyers are researching what would happen if we violated a ban."

It is not surprising that Van Vliet and his competitors want to keep their audiences up to date on the Teale-Homolka saga. The case promises to be one of the most sensational crime stories in Canadian history, and has already sent writers and producers on both sides of the border scurrying to nail down book and movie deals. But Canadian legal experts say that the enormous attention the case has received so far may have already damaged Teale's constitutional right to a fair trial—and that the judge in Homolka's hearing would be justified in issuing a publication ban. The problem is that western New York media organizations have large followings in the Niagara peninsula, and if they publish or transmit any of the banned proceedings they could influence potential jurors for Teale's trial.



"I grew up in Niagara Falls and the American television channels are the stations of choice there," says Toronto lawyer Brian Greenspan, chairman of the Canadian Council of Criminal Lawyers Association. "A publication ban which does not extend to the American media is a very hollow ban, given the realities of life in the Niagara peninsula."

Greenspan's brother Edward faced that dilemma in 1982, when the celebrated criminal lawyer defended a Toronto woman accused of killing her two-month-old son by tossing the baby into Niagara Falls. An Ontario Provincial Court judge ordered a publication ban at the preliminary hearing. But when Greenspan spoke with several American broadcast and newspaper reporters before the hearing began, he realized that they planned to defy the ban. Since they would actually be filing their stories in another country, the journalists didn't think that their actions would be subject to Canadian law. If they did report testimony damaging to Greenspan's client, it could have prejudiced jurors if the case were committed to trial. While Canadian authorities could have arrested any reporters who violated the ban the next time they entered the country, Greenspan worried that the American news organizations would avoid charges by sending a new staff member for each day of the hearing. As a result, the judge agreed to Greenspan's request to close the courtroom to reporters and the public (the charges against his client were dismissed).

When Homolka's defence counsel George Walker appeared in court last week to arrange a trial date—the case will be heard in St. Catharines—one of Teale's lawyers asked Ontario Court Justice Francis Kovacs for a ban on publication. But outside the courthouse Walker went a step further, suggesting that the media not be allowed into the courtroom at all. His primary concern was the circus atmosphere created by the dozens of journalists who have routinely covered the case, and he complained about the way they aggressively swarmed him.

It may become increasingly difficult for Canada's stricter justice system to insulate itself from intense outside interest as news of the Teale case spreads to other countries. According to Jack Levin, a sociologist at Boston's Northeastern University who has written two books on serial killers and predators, the Teale case is so extraordinary that it will eventually command global attention.

Already, two Canadian publishers, Key Porter Books and Little Brown, have commissioned books on the case, and at least four journalists are currently shopping other proposals among Toronto-based book editors. At the same time, several Canadian and American film producers are trying to purchase the story rights of the central players in the drama, including Homolka and police investigators. One entertainment source said that Homolka could command more than $50,000 for her story if a television docudrama about the case went into production.

But it may be several months before additional details about the case emerge. Legal experts predict that Judge Kovacs will, at the very least, slap a publication ban on the facts of Homolka's case—a decision he will make at the outset of her trial—if not banish reporters from the courtroom altogether. While such a move is bound to raise cries from editors about the freedom of the press, well-known civil libertarians say that it is a reasonable measure. "It is not a question of banning publication forever," says Edward Greenspan, a member of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. "It is a matter of postponing publication so the accused's right to a fair trial is not infringed. There will be a transcript, you're entitled to it, but maybe not right away." For the American networks, movie moguls and book writers circling around the tragic story of Paul Teale and Karla Homolka, that may not be soon enough.

PAUL KAIHLA

Canada Notes

CUTS, OR ELSE
Ontario Premier Bob Rae will give the province's public sector unions until Aug. 1 to negotiate a $2-billion payroll reduction. Rae said that he would provide a framework for the reduction with legislation that will also contain a back-up plan to enforce the cuts if the $2-billion target is not reached voluntarily.

APPEAL DENIED
A Brazilian judge denied the right to appeal the 28-year kidnapping sentences that were imposed on two Canadians in 1990. Christine Lamont, 34, of Langley, B.C., and David Spencer, 29, of Moncton, N.B., were sentenced following their conviction for kidnapping a businessman in Sao Paulo.

SENATOR NAMED
Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed David Angus, 55, his long-time friend and the Conservative party's chief fund raiser, along with David Tkachuk, 48, who served as principal secretary to former Saskatchewan premier Grant Devine, to the Senate. Angus, a Montreal lawyer, has been chairman of the PC Canada Fund during Mulroney's 10 years as party leader.

COLLAPSE KILLS FOUR
A scaffold used by painters collapsed under a heavily travelled six-lane bridge in St. Catharines, Ont., killing four workers. A crane equipped with a bucket was used to rescue six other workers, who had clung to narrow steel girders 120 feet above the ground.

EDMONSTON QUITS
Phil Edmonston, the only New Democrat MP ever elected from Quebec, has decided not to seek re-election. Edmonston, 49, who broke party ranks to oppose last year's Charlottetown accord, said that he entered federal politics to help decentralize federalism in Canada, but was frustrated by lack of progress in that area.

SENATE REVOLT
For the first time under the Mulroney administration, the governing Conservatives lost a vote in the Senate. Five rebel Tory senators, led by Finlay MacDonald and Norm Atkins, combined with the Liberal Opposition to defeat a bill that would have merged the Canada Council with the main federal arts and sciences granting body. They opposed the legislation on the grounds that it would fail to achieve significant cost savings.



CHRIS HEDGEN

THE SUPERPOWER RETREATS

A TROUBLED WORLD ASKS: WHERE'S AMERICA?

Take a map of the United States and fold it from left to right and again from top to bottom and the creases will intersect not far from Kansas City, Missouri. The city of 1.5 million people could well lay claim to being the spiritual as well as the geographic centre of America's heartland. Tucked into a bend of the muddy Missouri River where it crosses the Kansas state line, Kansas City gave the country such enduring icons of Middle America as Walt Disney and Walter Cronkite. It is a prosperous place where the rumble of foreign wars sounds distantly, if at all. Those few people curious about events elsewhere must brave the seedy end of Main Street and an establishment that does most of its business in erotic videos to find an out-of-state newspaper, let alone a foreign journal. It is a city where most people seem to agree with 29-year-old phone company worker John Saul that the agonies of Bosnia, Somalia or Liberia are someone else's problem. In Saul's view, "There needs to be a hell of a lot more concentration on what's happening here in the United States."

It is a feeling increasingly shared across much of America. Barely two years after Desert Storm prompted some analysts to speculate that the world's last remaining superpower might take on the role of global policeman, many Americans seem instead to be losing interest in the rest of the world. Take away the compelling and clear-cut Cold War rivalry with communism, and domestic enemies again predominate in the public mind. Joblessness, the fear of violent crime and concern for the bloated national debt loom as larger and more immediate concerns than the remote and intractable conflicts of foreign lands.

Among those for whom international affairs are apparently an afterthought is President Bill Clinton, whose fitful focus on foreign policy has caused growing disquiet among America's allies. Europe's concerns grew in May, when Secretary of State Warren Christopher toured European capitals in a less-than forceful attempt to win support for Clinton's short-lived plan to get tough with the Bosnian Serbs. Christopher's limp performance prompted the London *Times* to observe tartly that "the episode has left European diplomats wondering if they are dealing with an American administration of potentially historic incompetence."

If not incompetence, certainly a marked lack of interest in foreign issues. Some important American allies, in fact, need look no further than their own capitals for evidence of how far down Clinton's priority list they stand. The new President waited until last month to nominate former Michigan governor James Blanchard as his ambassador to Canada. And the administration did not nominate envoys to either Tokyo or Bonn until nearly five months into Clinton's term of office.

Attitudes in Washington began late last month to resemble a conscious, if still unofficial new U.S. policy of disengagement from foreign affairs. In unguarded statements, both Christopher and Peter Tarnoff, an undersecretary in his state department, suggested that defence budget cuts and domestic preoccupations have left the White House with neither the will nor the military resources to lead interventions in global trouble spots. Said Christopher on ABC's *Nightline*: "We can't do it all—we have to save our power for those situations which threaten our deepest national interests." Administration officials later denied that the statements reflected a change in American policy.

But America's allies should not be surprised at their diminished importance in U.S. eyes. Clinton campaigned on a clear promise to put economic recovery and reform of America's expensive health care system ahead of foreign adventures, and he will plainly be judged on those issues when he seeks re-election in 1996.

The President has already accelerated the withdrawal of American troops from Europe. The United States now has 164,000 troops committed to NATO in Europe, but Clinton announced in early April that the number will be reduced to 100,000. European analysts say that is the smallest force needed to maintain U.S. credibility as the leader of the alliance.

The administration's halting response to the Bosnian conflict has already had one unwelcome consequence: it has exposed Europe's own shortages both of resolve and resources. Even if European governments had mustered the political will to intervene militarily in the Balkans, they lack sufficient firepower to take such an action on their own. For that they are dependent upon American might and financing. Some European diplomats worry that, having come to regard Bosnia as a potential quagmire and a political nightmare, Clinton may begin a general retreat from America's postwar commitment to European stability. That anxiety was only partly allayed by the U.S. decision last week to send a largely symbolic 300-strong force to Macedonia, to discourage the Bosnian conflict from spreading into that former Yugoslav republic. And the use of U.S. forces in weekend combat in Somalia was a policing operation launched under UN auspices in order, Clinton said, to warn armed gangs in the East African country against provoking "terror and chaos."

The President's priorities are clearly in tune with his electorate at home. "It's not that we're not interested in the rest of the world," said Ginna Bay, 62, a retired social worker from Long Beach, Calif., as she emerged from the Harry S. Truman Museum in Independence, Mo., the late president's home town, and now a Kansas City suburb. That shrine to one of the central architects of the post-Second World War order records the sweeping international changes ushered in during Truman's administration—including the establishment of both NATO and the United Nations. But now, said Bay, "We feel like we have so much poverty and people out of work, we want to take care of our own first."

Reasons for a less ambitious world view are clear to many Americans. Asked accountant Tim Bonnette, 36, of the Kansas City



CHRIS HEDGEN

Clinton; Sarajevo residents dodging sniper fire (above left). o soft focus on foreign policy disquets some importont U.S. allies

World Notes

FIGHTING IN SOMALIA
Spearheaded by U.S. aircraft, UN forces in Somalia blitzed installations of Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed, fought ground battles and arrested scores of gunmen in Mogadishu, the capital. Targets included arms dumps and a radio station Aideed used on behalf of his Somali National Alliance. Pakistani UN forces fired on demonstrators protesting the raids, causing heavy casualties among civilians caught in the crossfire. The Security Council had ordered its troops to track down gunmen, thought to be followers of Aideed, who killed 23 Pakistani soldiers on June 5.

WESTERN INTERVENTION
After months of indecision, the United States offered to send 300 soldiers to join an international monitoring force in Macedonia—its first commitment of ground troops in former Yugoslavia. The troops would augment more than 700 Nordic UN peacekeepers already monitoring Macedonia's borders with Serbia and Albania. At the same time, NATO offered warplanes to defend UN troops deployed in six safe havens for Muslims in war-torn Bosnia.

MASSACRE IN LIBERIA
As the burial of bodies continued, medical workers estimated that as many as 600 people, most of them women and children, were killed in a massacre at a farming camp in Liberia. Survivors and government officials blamed rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, which denied responsibility.

DEATH OF A COLLABORATOR
Paris police arrested Christian Didier, an obscure author who described himself as an agent of God with a mission of returning morality to the world, after he admitted killing Nazi collaborator René Bousquet, 84. As police chief in the wartime Vichy regime, Bousquet ordered the roundup of thousands of French Jews. He was facing charges of committing crimes against humanity.

BAZIN BOWS OUT
Haitian Prime Minister Marc Bazin resigned, saying that he had been unable to install four new cabinet members because of "threats and pressure against them" and citing the Socialist party's withdrawal from the governing coalition. Bazin became prime minister with backing from the army, which has controlled Haiti since ousting elected President Jean Bertrand Aristide in a 1991 coup.

suburb of Lenexa, Kan., last week. "If you have a national debt as large as ours, how can we continue to help somebody else?" Another visitor to Truman's memorial, Mark Dube, 29, of Houston, Texas, voiced a measure of bewilderment that might well have been echoed in the White House as Clinton contemplated the perilous options in Bosnia. "I think America feels a little overpowered," Dube suggested, gazing reflectively at Truman's grave site in the museum's quiet courtyard. "America has always seen itself on the side of the just. But we have a hard time knowing what to do sometimes. you can't really choose a good guy and a bad guy."

Vietnam veteran Ben Hunt, 44, now retired and living on a disability pension, agreed. "Our role in the world has declined and *should* decline," he observed, resting his foot on the sleek black Harley Davidson motorcycle he had ridden from his home in Topeka, Kan., to buy cheap cigarettes at the U.S. army base at Fort Leavenworth, just northwest of Kansas City. "We don't have the threat of communism. We don't want to run the world."

America has turned inward before. Historian George Curtis, the assistant director of the Truman Museum, is at work on a book that will examine the last time the United States turned its back on the world, in the decades after the First World War. Today, says Curtis, "The country appears to be in the same mood. In fact, it may even be less concerned with the rest of the world than in the early 1920s." Similar thoughts worry retired U.S. air force Gen. Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser in the Bush administration and now head of his own Washington think-tank. Scowcroft told *Maclean's* that a progressive American withdrawal from world affairs "is a distinct possibility, not because of a conscious mood but out of indifference." He added, "We've faced the same kinds of dangers before and we are reacting the same way as we did after the First World War."

But parallels with the past should not be overdrawn. In the 1920s and 1930s congressional advocates of U.S. isolationism eventually succeeded in passing the so-called Neutrality Act, which initially prevented President Franklin Roosevelt by law from direct involvement in the Second World War. Neither in the heartland nor among the deep thinkers of the capital is that brand of isolationism a popular cause. "I don't think we should be the policeman for the world," said Kansas City insurance underwriter Joan Sormani, 34. "But I don't think isolationism serves us well at all. Whether it's political, economic or just from a humanistic viewpoint. I think it's dangerous."

In Washington, analysts say that the same view holds in the White House. While Kim Holmes, director of foreign policy and defence studies with the conservative Heritage Foundation, blames Clinton for a lack of interest or vision in foreign policy, he says that the President remains committed in principle to open trade and American involvement in international affairs. "I see more drift, more vacuum than isolationism," said Holmes. Added James Hoge, editor of the influential journal *Foreign Affairs*: "Bill Clinton is essentially an internationalist."



Christopher: limited by defence cuts and domestic preoccupations

But if there is little support for old-style isolationism in America today, the new mood offers fertile ground for its close cousin, protectionism. In the cavernous hangars at Kansas City International Airport where Trans World Airlines maintains its international fleet of 170 jets, unionized workers have launched a campaign to persuade Washington to overturn a 1988 decision to allow U.S.-flagged aircraft to be serviced outside the United States. The catalyst for their drive is a Mexican proposal to build a giant aircraft maintenance base at Tijuana, just across the border from San Diego, Calif., where wages are a fraction of the $20-plus an hour earned by veteran TWA mechanics. Airframe and engine mechanic Dick Holt, 50, professed concern that the Mexican facility "will be using cheap, unskilled labor, and cutting way too many corners." But fellow worker George Minthorn, 52, was more direct in his objection. "We like to keep our jobs here in this country," said Minthorn, who repairs damaged wing surfaces.

The union campaign, which would also ban maintenance work on U.S. aircraft in Canada, may have only a slim chance of success. But in other areas, the Clinton administration has already signalled its sensitivity to protectionist sentiment. Tough rhetoric earlier this year, aimed at Western European development subsidies for the Airbus line of mid-range passenger jets, was reinforced when the White House banned other European firms from bidding on $24 million worth of U.S. government contracts. That action left European Community officials sputtering about retaliation. Then last week, U.S. trade commissioner Mickey Kantor used conciliatory tones to couch new proposals directed at opening Japanese markets to more imported goods. But his initiative carried the unmistakable threat that if Japan does not respond to Washington's satisfaction, formal barriers to imports from Japan may follow. At the same time, higher priority battles over Clinton's budget and his proposed health reforms now seem likely to delay ratification of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement beyond its year-end target date.

In fact, whatever Clinton's own inclinations may be, the pressures to act on America's self-protective new mood are mounting. In much of the heartland, the fumble-prone President is a less popular figure than Texas gadfly Ross Perot. The sharp-tongued billionaire meanwhile, is sounding increasingly like an old-fashioned exponent of Fortress America who would scrap the trade deal with Mexico and outlaw "foreign lobbyists" on charges of "economic treason."

Such ideas may carry little weight in official Washington, but they are plainly attractive to the growing number of U.S. voters who believe it is time to put America first. If Dick Holt, John Saul and countless others like them across the country know nothing else about the rest of the world, they know that it has absorbed more than a million good American jobs in the past decade. Isolationism? No. A new and, for Canada and other U.S. trading partners, potentially damaging wave of protectionism? Far more likely.

CHRIS WOOD *in Kansas City with* ***ANDREW PHILLIPS*** *in London and* ***HILARY MACKENZIE*** *in Washington*



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BRITAIN

No, prime minister

Major: lurching from one crisis to another

With friends like these, John Major must have wondered last week, who needs enemies? First came Margaret Thatcher, his onetime political mentor and his predecessor as British prime minister. Now Baroness Thatcher, she rose in the House of Lords on June 7 and implicitly accused Major of a "disgraceful betrayal" of British voters by pushing for approval of the Maastricht treaty on European union without first holding a referendum. Then came Norman Lamont, once one of Major's closest allies, and finance minister until the prime minister finally yielded to political pressures and dumped him from cabinet on May 27. Last week, Lamont took his revenge. In a scathing assessment of Major's government delivered in the House of Commons, Lamont portrayed the Tories as weak and drifting. "We give the impression of being in office, but not in power," he said as Major sat stony faced in his seat. "Unless this approach is changed, the government will not survive and will not deserve to survive."

Lamont's attack could hardly have been more pointed or more damaging to a prime minister already lurching from one political crisis to another. Major astonished his critics 14 months ago when he came from behind and led Britain's Tories to a fourth straight electoral victory. It has been downhill ever since. A stubborn recession, mounting unemployment and a string of political blunders sent Major's popularity into a tailspin. He tried to stem the tide by firing Lamont, whose credibility was fatally undermined last September when he was forced to devalue the pound after insisting for weeks that he would not do so. But Major's image as a weak leader was already firmly fixed in the public mind. In a Gallup poll released on June 4, just 21 per cent of Britons surveyed said that he was doing a good job, the lowest rating for a prime minister since British polling began in 1938. Lamont's tirade will only make things worse. Stung by Major's decision to throw him overboard, he accused his former boss of overreacting to short-term crises and of lacking a long-term vision. That is exactly the criticism that right-wing Tories and independent analysts have aimed at him for months.



Some of the prime minister's critics go further, suggesting that he was promoted far beyond his talents when the Tories selected him to replace Thatcher in November, 1990. William Rees-Mogg, one of Britain's most influential commentators, raised eyebrows last month when he dismissively suggested in the London *Times* that Major should never have risen beyond junior cabinet rank.

Major's defenders take grim comfort in the fact that almost all Western leaders share his unpopularity. "It's something that is quite global," one of his senior advisers said as he ticked off a list of leaders, from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to French President François Mitterrand, whose personal standing among their electorates is also low. They say that Major's popularity will recover as Britain's economy returns to prosperity. And although Major's personal following among Conservatives is not large, he has one significant advantage: while his bitterest party critics are among Thatcher's old loyalists, that faction has no alternative candidate for the leadership. In fact, were Major forced out, his obvious replacement would be Kenneth Clarke, who replaced Lamont as chancellor of the exchequer and whose centre-left views are even more repugnant than Major's to Tory right-wingers. As a result, Major most likely has at least another year to rebuild his popularity before he faces a challenge from within his party.

ANDREW PHILLIPS *in London*

ADVERTISEMENT

In the March 1, 1993 issue of Maclean's, Ontario Blue Cross ran an advertisement which has elicited a response which was unintended by our company.

The advertisement related to a reported medical situation in Europe and unfortunately used the Italian language in the improper tense. The Embassy of Italy and the Italian community were offended by the intent and implications of the ad and for this we apologize. Once we learned of these reactions and perceptions, we took immediate steps to cancel the ad and limit further publication.

It was never the intent of Ontario Blue Cross to pass judgement on the medical competence of the medical institutions and facilities and their personnel, or the Italian Public Health Service. We are anxious to make clear to the Embassy of Italy and the Italian community, with whom we have enjoyed a valued and long term close relationship, that this advertisement (and its unfortunate result) was not intended to have general application nor to cast aspersions on the public institutions in Italy or anywhere else in Europe.

We wish to point out that the reported situation referred to was an isolated incident and was not intended to convey that there were other similar incidents. The descriptions contained in the ad do not represent the opinions of Blue Cross nor its experience with respect to health care in Italy or elsewhere in Europe. We sincerely regret any misperceptions this advertisement has created, and apologize again to the Embassy of Italy, our valued Italian customers, and to the Italian community.

J. David Hockin
Vice President
Sales & Market Development
Ontario Blue Cross

BLUE CROSS

PAYING THE BOSS

SENIOR EXECUTIVES' INCOMES ARE SOARING, BUT FINDING A FORMULA THAT REWARDS THEM ONLY IF THEY PRODUCE PROFITS IS NO EASY TASK

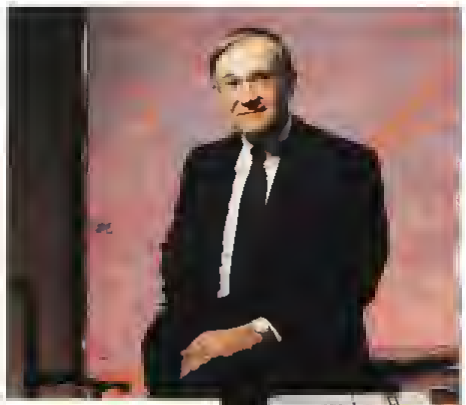
Compared with most Canadians Frank Stronach and Michael Cornelissen collected hefty paycheques last year. Although neither will reveal his salary, disclosure regulations require Canadian companies to report the combined compensation paid to their senior executives. Stronach, chairman of Magna International Inc., an auto-parts maker in Markham, Ont., near Toronto, was one of seven company executives who shared $25.2 million in salaries and bonuses. The lack of information is even more striking in Cornelissen's case. He resigned as president of troubled Royal Trustco Ltd. of Toronto last September and, as a result, the company has disclosed no information about his compensation for the year, saying only that he is entitled to collect his salary and benefits until 1998. Both men have been strong proponents of aligning their managers' goals with those of shareholders through profit-sharing or stock-purchase plans. In Magna's case, the theory appeared to work last year: the company's profit soared by 493 per cent. "The more I make, the better the shareholders like it," said Stronach. Royal Trustco, by contrast, lost $852 million, decreasing the value of its shares by 68 per cent and forcing a proposed sale of the company to the Royal Bank of Canada. Cornelissen declined to comment about the company.

The experiences of Magna and Royal Trustco show both the potential rewards and the dangers of performance-based pay plans—for both executives and shareholders. But despite the drawbacks, more and more Canadian companies are adopting them. They are following the lead of U.S.-based corporations where stock options, bonuses and other incentives make up a much larger proportion of senior managers' salaries than they do in Canada. There, some chief executives' pay packages have soared to astronomical levels—Walt Disney Co. chairman Michael Eisner received a record $240 million last year, almost all of it from stock options granted to him in 1984. Since then, the price of Disney's stock has climbed by more than 1,000 per cent.



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SALARY: $731,403
BONUS: $1,577,125
STOCK OPTIONS: $1,432,761

The performance- and stock-based plans themselves vary from company to company. Some, like Magna, set aside a percentage of company profits for top executives. Others, like the Toronto-based Hees-Edper group of companies, have loaned executives money to buy company shares. But the most popular arrangement over the past decade has been stock options. They give senior executives the chance to purchase large numbers of shares in their own company at their current price at dates often several years into the future. If the share price climbs over that time, the executives can reap huge gains.



KEITH GOODRICH
Chairman, president and CEO
Moore Corp. Ltd.
SALARY: $726,000
BONUS: none
STOCK OPTIONS. none



MICHAEL CORNELISSEN
Former president and CEO
Royal Trustco Ltd.
COMPENSATION not disclosed

Although Eisner's case was exceptional, options have fuelled a general spiral in top-level executives' pay over the past decade—a period when average family incomes have remained stagnant after adjusting for inflation. In the United States, the average chief executive of a large company earned $750,000 in 1980, about 42 times the average assembly-line worker's wage. Last year, the average for chief executives reached $3.8 million, or 160 times the average assembly-line worker's wage.

In Canada, such precise comparisons are impossible because companies, even publicly owned ones, are not required to provide such information. But Ken Hugessen, a principal with a Toronto-based management consulting firm, William Mercer Ltd., who specializes in executive compensation, said that there is a similar upward trend in Canada. And he added, "You'd have to be a fairly fuzzy-leftwing thinker to conclude that this is a bad thing."

Hugessen maintains that both the compensation spiral and the increased reliance on options benefit shareholders. He said that top-level executives' paycheques are growing because there is a shortage of talented leaders in North America capable of guiding a large corporation. Still, Hugessen conceded that in some instances pay has vastly exceeded company performance. Former IBM Corp. chairman John Akers and former General Motors Corp. chairman Robert Stempel both collected multimillion-dollar salaries as their companies lost billions. But Hugessen argued that "in the end they paid the ultimate price—their jobs."

In Canada, few shareholders challenge the size of senior executives' paycheques. At Magna, Stronach said that is because when times are good, "they make more money too."

In the case of Royal Trustco, however, some disgruntled shareholders are complaining that the company will continue to pay Cornelissen his salary and benefits—even though he left the company in disarray. They will have the opportunity to question Royal Trustco's directors about Cornelissen's compensation at the company's annual meeting this week.

Like other companies in the Hees-Edper group, Royal Trustco encouraged executives to take out large loans to buy company stock during the 1980s, while paying them below-market salaries. When the price of those shares rose, the executives realized large paper gains. But because the prices of many group companies' shares have plummeted over the past two years, many managers have loans that greatly exceed the value of their shares. Robert Harding, president of Hees International Bancorp Ltd., said that the group is still committed to "pay for performance." But he added that many managers were exposed to too much risk of loss. As a result, he said, many group companies are switching to stock-option plans.

Although Canadian companies do not have to divulge specific information in Canada about their senior executives' salaries, if their stock is listed on an American exchange some firms provide those figures to the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington. A few Canadian companies, including Montreal-based Seagram Co. Ltd. and Toronto-based business forms manufacturer Moore Corp., still provide detailed information. Moore paid Keith Goodrich, its chairman and president, a salary of $726,000 last year. Moore also has bonus and stock-option plans. But Goodrich and other senior executives received only a salary because the company lost $2.7 million. Charles Canfield, Moore's vice-president of human resources, said, "If your salaries and bonuses are fair and performance-related, there shouldn't be any problem disclosing that." Other Canadian companies are now embracing the concept of pay for performance. But few are likely to be as forthcoming as Moore about individuals' salaries unless shareholders or regulators twist their arms.

JOHN DALY



FRANK STRONACH
Chairman and CEO
Magna International Inc.
COMPENSATION not disclosed
(Shared $25.2 million with six others)

Business Notes

DEBT REPORT
A leading New York City credit rating agency, Moody's Investors Service Inc., says that Canada's debt is moderate by world standards. Moody's says that several reports have "grossly exaggerated Canada's fiscal debt position" by comparing its gross debt to the net debt of other countries. Moody's added that Canada's debt of $345 billion equals 50.3 per cent of the country's annual gross domestic product.

BILLIONAIRE BLUES
Canada's wealthiest man, media tycoon Ken Thomson, slipped a little on *Fortune* magazine's billionaire rankings this year. Thomson and his family were No. 17 with an estimated $5.7 billion (U.S.), down from 12th spot with $6.2 billion last year. Charles and Edgar Bronfman of the Seagram Co. Ltd. distilleries were 22nd (also 22nd in 1992), with $4.9 billion, while the heirs to legendary New Brunswick magnate K. C. Irving were 40th (43rd in 1992), with $3.7 billion. The Sultan of Brunei led the list with $37 billion.

WAGES LAGGING
Statistics Canada says that wages barely kept pace with inflation in the 1980s. The agency says that during the decade that began and ended with severe recessions, real wage gains after inflation amounted to just two per cent. It was the lowest increase since Statistics Canada started tracking wages in 1901.

DROPPED OFFER
For the second time this year, a New York City financial house has dropped an offer to buy 22.4 million shares in Univa Inc.'s supermarket business in Quebec and Ontario. Warburg Pincus Investors LP, a subsidiary of New York investment dealer E. M. Warburg Pincus & Co. Inc., announced that it would not go ahead with plans to buy Unigesco Inc.'s 26-per-cent stake in Univa, which owns the Provigo and Loeb chains, for $200 million.

AIR QUALITY
The Canadian Union of Public Employees says that North American airlines are saving money by circulating less fresh air into aircraft cabins. The union, which represents 8,000 flight attendants, says that the lower level of oxygen in the air causes discomfort and health problems. Reducing the intake of fresh air saves on fuel costs. The union wants the federal government to start testing air quality in planes.

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WHAT BEER DRINKERS DRINK WHEN THEY'RE NOT DRINKING BEER

Old rivals back in town

Survivors of an epic battle pursue new dreams

Five years ago Bob Blair and Bernard Isautier were locked in one of the biggest and bitterest corporate takeover battles in Canadian history. The contest pitted Blair's Calgary based Nova Corp., an oil and gas producer against Polysar Energy & Chemical Corp., the petrochemical products giant based in Toronto. In the end, Nova chairman Blair prevailed, overcoming the daunting financial and legal obstacles that Isautier, Polysar's president, threw in his way. But after they completed the $1.9-billion deal in June, 1988 both men faded from public view. The imperious, French-born Isautier resigned and returned to Paris with a hefty severance settlement. Blair, however, had little time to savor his victory. Nova buckled under the debt it had assumed to finance the bold takeover, and he stepped down as chairman in September, 1991. But now, both men are attempting to stage comebacks, and both have chosen to do so in the same city: Calgary.

Earlier this month, Isautier arrived in Calgary to start his new job as president and chief executive of U.S.-owned Canadian Occidental Petroleum Ltd., a midsize gas and oil producer. Blair, meanwhile, has entered politics. Last June he won the federal Liberal nomination for the riding of Calgary Centre and he is already running hard. Both men have struggled since the last time they crossed paths. So has Nova, which is only now beginning to shake off the costly effects of its purchase of Polysar. Shortly after Blair won the battle for Polysar, the price of ethylene, a principal product and the raw ingredient for plastics, plunged along with other petroleum prices. That forced Nova to sell off much of the empire that Blair had assembled—including Polysar's huge rubber division. Now, Isautier is more willing to reminisce than Blair, saying that he would follow the same strategy again if given the chance. "I have no regrets," he said. Blair, however, declined to discuss the takeover. "I'll just keep my counsel about that," he said.



Isautier, Blair (opposite): trying to stage comebacks

The 1988 battle was a watershed in the careers of both executives. For Blair, now 63, the Polysar acquisition capped a decade of expansion for Nova, which he was aiming to transform into the centrepiece of a diversified resource based economy. But the soft spoken, cerebral Blair was an unlikely champion of the Alberta oil industry. He was born in Trinidad in 1929, the son of an engineer who worked for Bechtel Canada, a global contracting firm, and who travelled extensively. As a youth, Blair lived in Scotland, where he acquired a thick burr in his speech, before returning to Canada to study engineering at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. During the 1970s and 1980s, although he was head of a large energy company, he drove a modest compact car and frequently ate at the lunch counter of the downtown Pay & Save.

Isautier, 50, also has an eclectic background. A mining engineer, he worked for the governments of Niger, Tunisia and France before moving to Calgary in 1978 as president of Aquitaine Canada, a subsidiary of France's state-controlled oil company. In 1986, he was appointed president of the Canada Development Corp. He changed the company's name to Polysar and tried to focus its operations on energy and petrochemicals.

It was Polysar's petrochemical business that provoked Blair's interest in the company. Nova, whose roots were in the gas pipeline business, had expanded into basic petrochemical production a decade earlier. Blair saw an opportunity to combine Nova's pipelines and energy resources with Polysar's strong and more advanced petrochemical business to create the first truly Canadian integrated petroleum company. "Polysar was a one-time opportunity, the final step towards a world-sized petrochemicals business," he said in a 1990 interview. "So we stuck out our chin."

The decision was an easy one for Blair, who had always been something of a maverick in Calgary's petroleum industry. Most of his counterparts worked for multinational oil companies and took their orders from head offices outside the country. Blair, by contrast, was an economic nationalist who wanted Canada to retain more control over its oil industry. He even supported the National Energy Program initially, a stand that clearly set him apart from the rest of the industry and demonstrated his willingness to take a contrary approach.

But nationalism was only one of the motivations behind his bid for Polysar. He was also attracted by the idea of increasing the steady but unexciting earnings of the utility-like pipeline business with the cyclical but sometimes highly lucrative profits of petrochemicals.



In October, 1987, aided by the stock market crash and its resulting lower share prices, Blair launched an unwelcome takeover bid by buying Polysar shares on the open market. He also tried, unsuccessfully, to secure seats on Polysar's board. Isautier did everything he could to block the bid. During an epic 13-hour Polysar shareholders meeting in May, 1988, Blair was allowed only a few minutes at the microphone to formally state his case. Recalling the battle, both Isautier and Blair insist that there is no rancor between them. "We had different objectives," said Blair. "It was not a situation of hard feelings." Isautier said that he was only trying to obtain the highest possible price on behalf of Polysar's shareholders. He added, "In retrospect, I was right." By dragging out the takeover, Isautier forced Blair to pay the equivalent of $21 a share for Polysar's stock, almost double what it had been trading at before the takeover bid was launched. Isautier himself collected several million from his personal shareholdings. Immediately after the takeover, however, Blair had ample reason to crow: a Western maverick had bested Isautier and a formidable coalition of Bay Street financiers and insiders.

But the deal soon went awry for Nova. Analysts say that Nova had simply paid too much. Said Robert Hastings, an oil-and-gas analyst with Richardson Greenshields of Canada Ltd. in Toronto: "It became a poker game and Nova just kept upping the bids." In the end, Nova ended up with a debt of $1.4 billion from the takeover. In the following years, when energy prices and particularly petrochemical prices fell, Nova was forced to gradually sell off prized assets to reduce its debts. In 1991, Nova lost a staggering $923 million, prompting Blair's retirement.

Isautier has also had his ups and downs over the past five years. In 1990, the urbane Isautier was appointed president of France's state-owned Thomson Consumer Electronics, whose factories around the world make RCA television sets, Telefunken radios and other brands. At the time, Isautier contrasted the lifestyle of Paris with that of Calgary and was openly delighted to be in France rather than Canada. But just two years later, in February, 1991, Isautier stepped down. "I had some differences of opinion with the chairman of the group, who was a political appointee," he said. This April, Isautier says that an executive search firm approached him about the Canadian Occidental job. He quickly agreed to take it, even though it meant a return to the city that he was once pleased to leave. One of the job's principal attractions, he said, is its "North American-style management." He added, "There are no politicians involved."

Canadian Occidental, which is 30-per-cent owned and controlled by Occidental Petroleum Corp. of Los Angeles, is a diversified energy and chemical company with oil and gas interests in Canada, the United States, South America, Yemen in the Middle East and Romania. "It has done a great many things internationally, this is in part the reason why I am so interested," said Isautier, adding that he looks forward to travelling.

Blair, by contrast, is abandoning business and is planning to travel only as far as Ottawa. Although he is a close friend of former Conservative Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, Blair said that he chose to run for the Liberals because the party's ideals match his own—it is a "thrifty, tight organization" that is also "generous to people who haven't got a fair shake in life."

Blair and Isautier have seen each other only once since 1988 by coincidence, at Calgary's Petroleum Club the night of Blair's retirement dinner in October, 1991. Isautier was in town for a meeting of Ranger Oil Ltd.'s board of directors, from which he plans to resign this summer. But now that Isautier will be living in Calgary, both men say that they will doubtless meet again. When they do, the only thing left for them to debate is what might have been.

JOHN DALY

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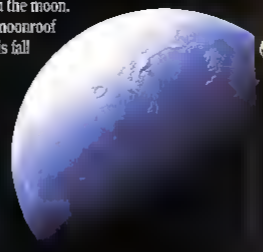
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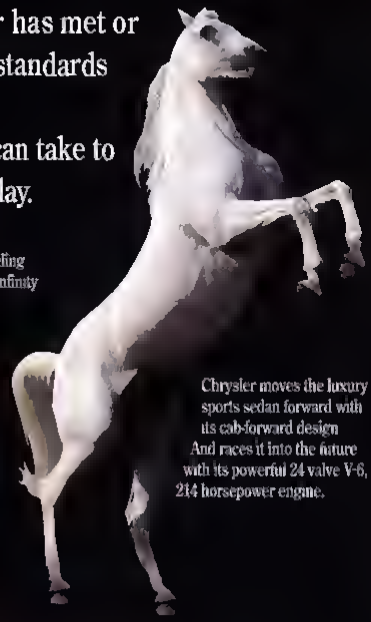
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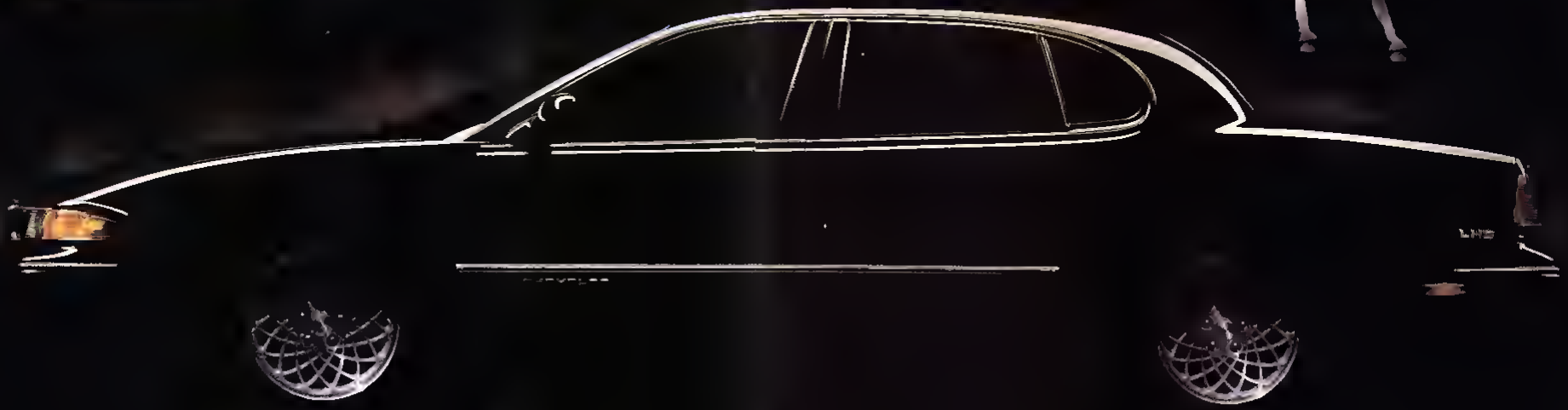
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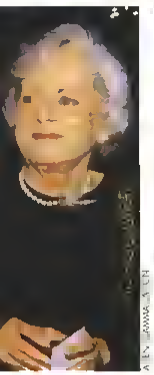


LEORU STIGMA/FULLUPHOTO

There is often a hard life behind the laughter "I was not a great rough-and-tumble guy at school," said **John Cleese** "At a difficult stage of my childhood, I developed a sense of humor to help me get through." It served him well the Cambridge-educated Briton became famous for his comedy work with Monty Python's Flying Circus and for his 1970s TV series *Fawlty Towers*. But by 1974, with his first marriage fading, Cleese entered group therapy with Dr. **Robin Skynner**—after getting over "the usual English inhibitions about emotions." Three years later, he added, "It began to explain to me parts of human behavior I'd simply never understood before." That interest in behavior has endured. In 1983, he and Skynner wrote *Families and how to survive them*, which became a best seller. Now, they have broadened their scope with *Life and how to survive it*, in which Cleese and Skynner write about families, love, business and society. But the creator of the Ministry of Silly Walks isn't about to give up on comedy. He is writing the script for a sequel to his hit 1988 movie, *A Fish Called Wanda*. After that, he said, he hopes eventually to quit acting: "I'm 53 now, and I'm a little bit fed up with people powdering my face and trimming my nasal hairs every 30 seconds." Asked what he will do, Cleese replied, "Just write films, and sit in the garden the rest of the time."

Murder, she wrote

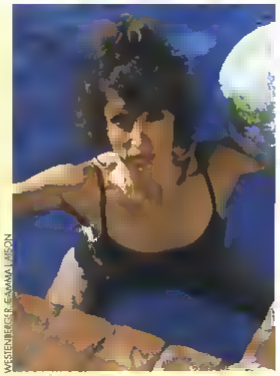
Even without a recession, the job hunt can be tough for convicted murderers. But not for Jean Harris. In 1980, while working as the headmistress of a tony private school for girls, Harris shot and killed her former lover in the bedroom of his secluded country house outside New York City. The victim: Dr. Herman Tarnower, the inventor of the Scarsdale Diet, one of the most popular weight-loss programs of the 1970s. Released on parole in March, after serving 12 years of a life sentence at New York state's Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, 70-year-old Harris has already landed a job as contributing editor to *Lear's*, a monthly magazine aimed at women over 40. "We hired her to write about any issue that interests her," said David France, *Lear's* senior editor. "She has a crystal voice that brings any article to life." Harris honed her writing skills in prison, producing three critically acclaimed nonfiction books, *Stranger in Two Worlds*, *"They Always Call Us Ladies"* and *Marking Time*. Her first piece, due to appear in *Lear's* August issue: a personal commentary on prison uniforms.



ALEX BERLINER/CP

Victory on Broadway

It was an invasion from the North. At the Tony Awards ceremonies in New York City last week, **Brent Carver**, a native of Cranbrook, B.C., took best-actor honors for his portrayal of the gay window dresser Molina in the hit musical *Kiss of the Spider Woman*. Produced by Toronto impresario **Garth Drabinsky**, *Kiss* also won the Tony for best musical. Former Torontonian **Des McAnuff** won for his direction of The Who's rock opera *Tommy*. And American **Andrea Martin**, well-known to Canadians through her stint on the long-running television comedy series *SCTV*, produced in Toronto, garnered a Tony for best featured acting in a musical. "I'd like to thank my extended Armenian family for giving me my roots," said Martin, who played a sharp-tongued comedy writer in *My Favorite Year*, "and my hairdresser, Gary, for restoring them to their natural color."



WESTENBERG/CAMERA 5/MSDN

Martin: invading the world of stage

In the temple of the sun



FOUR BY FIVE

Princess Masako: cloistered

Millions of Japanese watched, but only 10 knew exactly what happened. Dressed in eighth-century costume, a Harvard-trained economist, Masako Owada, 29, married 33-year-old Crown Prince Naruhito of Japan last week. The couple performed the sake-exchanging ceremony cloistered in the shrine of Amaterasu, the sun goddess, the holiest place on the grounds of Tokyo's Imperial Palace. Although TV cameras caught the prince and Masako entering the shrine, the all-powerful Kunaicha, or Imperial Household Agency, would not allow coverage of the 15-minute Shinto ritual. In fact, the agency let in only seven courtiers and one unidentified woman, described by the Kunaicho only as "a young virgin." No prying eyes for this royal couple

Old foe, new hope

Reducing the complications of diabetes

Until 1921, a diagnosis of insulin dependent diabetes was an early death sentence—most patients died within a few years. The discovery that year of insulin by a Toronto team led by Dr. Frederick Banting was a historic breakthrough in the treatment of diabetes, a metabolic condition that impairs the body's ability to use food energy. But insulin is not a cure. As patients live longer, they develop other serious, long-term complications, including kidney failure, heart disease, blindness and nerve damage. Now, the results of the largest ever and most comprehensive study of diabetic complications show that they can be substantially reduced. According to the study, scheduled to be released this week at an American Diabetes Association meeting in Las Vegas, so-called intensive treatment can reduce the onset and progression of eye, kidney and nerve disease by about 50 per cent. Said Dr. Bernard Zinman, a Toronto endocrinologist and one of the principal North American investigators: "The results are good news, and they have widespread implications for how the disease should be treated."

The Diabetes Control and Complications Trial, which cost about $200 million, set out in 1982 to settle a half-century-long debate within the scientific community over the safety and effectiveness of two kinds of treatment—intensive or conventional—in preventing diabetic complications. The study was sponsored by the U.S. government's National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md., and conducted at 29 universities and teaching hospitals. These included three in Canada: Toronto's Mount Sinai hospital, where Zinman is director of the diabetes unit, the University of Western Ontario in London, Ont., and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver.

The study randomly divided into two groups 1,441 patients, including 120 in Canada, with insulin-dependent, or Type 1, diabetes. All had either early-stage complications or none at all. Those receiving conventional treatment followed a regimen currently recommended for most of the 200,000 Canadians with Type 1 diabetes—insulin injections twice a day, daily self-administered blood-sugar tests and regular clinical visits. Those in the intensive-treatment group took insulin three or more times a day, did blood-sugar tests four or more times daily and made monthly clinical visits.

Previously, Zinman said, smaller clinical trials had indicated that rigidly controlling blood sugar levels with intensive treatment could reduce the severity of the complications, but more conclusive proof was needed. Now, he told *Maclean's*, "The debate is ended"—and the implications are clear. With certain exceptions for medical reasons, Zinman said, most Type 1 diabetics should now receive intensive treatment instead of conventional treatment. That would lead to higher up-front health care costs, he said, but because diabetes and its complications cost Canadians about $4 billion a year, the savings could be substantial.

However, Zinman cautioned, intensive treatment also resulted in some potentially serious side effects. Participants using that method had two to three times the incidence of severe hypoglycemia, or low blood sugar, of those taking conventional treatment. Severe hypoglycemia can cause confusion, comas or seizures. Zinman explained that diabetics can develop hypoglycemia even while trying to keep blood-sugar levels normal because the best methods available to provide missing insulin don't duplicate normal body functions closely enough. "I hope the study results act as a catalyst to increase research efforts to develop better methods of replacing insulin," the doctor added.

When people eat, digestive juices break down the food into chemicals, including the simple sugar, glucose. The glucose then passes into the bloodstream where the cells of the body can use it for growth and energy. But that step of the process requires the presence of insulin, a hormone produced by the pancreas. In people with Type 1 diabetes, the immune system destroys the cells in the pancreas that produce insulin. Those people need daily injections of insulin to live. In Type 11—or non-insulin dependent—diabetes, the most common form of the disease affecting about one million Canadians, the pancreas usually produces insulin, but for some reason that researchers have not yet discovered, the body cannot use the insulin effectively. In both types, the result is the same: glucose builds up in the blood, overflows into the urine and is excreted, with the result that the body loses its main source of fuel. Both types of diabetes can produce similar serious complications.

Even though the study focused solely on those with Type 1 diabetes, it should also have an impact on those with Type II. Said Zinman: "Because of the role that glucose plays in each type of diabetes, I feel that the results are translatable." A major clinical trial in Britain is currently studying Type II diabetes and results are expected in three years. But the new North American findings already have strong implications for the treatment of a significant number of Canada's diabetics.

BARBARA WICKENS



BRIAN LOCKE/MACLEAN'S

Zinman: a study suggests that many diabetics should take insulin more often

Send in the clowns

Why Las Vegas hired a Canadian circus

Lisa Korn seemed indifferent to the garish magnetism and extravagance that characterize her home town of Las Vegas. The 23-year-old framing store clerk walked purposefully through the opulent Mirage hotel, ignoring the white tigers pacing behind a glass wall and the quarters spewing from a nearby slot machine. Korn had been drawn to the neon strip by something new: she had just paid $50 to see Cirque du Soleil, the Montreal circus troupe that has found a permanent—and unlikely—home in North America's playground for high rollers and tourists hoping to strike it rich. After the performance Korn looked impressed as she walked away from the yellow and white striped tent that sits between two wings of the hotel. "I just love that flying man," she said, referring to a muscle-bound Russian acrobat named Dimitri Arnaoutov, who whizzes through the air by pulling on two woven silk straps. "This is different from your usual has-been show." But Korn's enthusiasm for the intense avant-garde troupe may not be typical among visitors to North America's gambling capital. "People like seeing washed-up singers on the strip," she said. "They might find this weird."



Cirque du Soleil at the Mirage: family fun amid the high rollers

Before setting up shop in Las Vegas last November, weirdness had been an asset for the Cirque du Soleil. In less than 10 years, the troupe has achieved world acclaim with its mix of high-art theatrics and feats of human daring in an eerie, postmodern setting. Critics raved about the tightly choreographed shows, which draw as much inspiration from European street theatre as the conventional three-ring circus. That attention prompted offers from Las Vegas promoters to set up a permanent show on the strip. For a troupe that had relied on costly world tours to survive, the prospect of steady income was too good to resist.

Cirque officials agreed to present pared-down performances of *Nouvelle Experience*, a fantasy which debuted on their 1990 Japanese tour. At the same time, they launched a separate 18-month tour of a new show called *Saltimbanco*. That show opens in Toronto on June 18, following a sold-out run in New York City. In contrast, the sales seem less overwhelming in Las Vegas, where the Cirque is trying to lure crowds away from the craps tables and budget buffets. "It's not our natural market," says Jean David, a Cirque vice-president in its Montreal headquarters. "But we came here to help the city change its image."

That's the hope of Stephen Wynn, the high-profile chairman of the $1.7-billion Mirage Resorts Inc., one of the largest casino operations in Las Vegas. Faced with the prospect of losing tourists as other cities rush to legalize gambling, Wynn is leading a crusade to transform the desert city into a place for sophisticated entertainment and family fun. In return for bringing new life to the strip, the Cirque received a $15-million contract to perform year-round until 1995 and the promise of a $20-million indoor facility designed for their use when Wynn's nearby Treasure Island resort opens this fall.

For touring performers, the permanent site also means a chance to settle down for longer than three weeks at a time. But some performers, such as tightrope walker Nicky Dewhurst from England, seem less excited at the prospect of spending their careers on the strip. "People only come here to gamble," said Dewhurst, who hopes to join one of the Cirque's touring troupes when *Nouvelle Expérience* wraps up in November. The *Las Vegas Review-Journal* last year ranked the Cirque as its top choice in entertainment on the strip. Still, it stood out as the odd cousin among other Top 10 shows that included Frank Sinatra, Debbie Reynolds, Wynonna Judd and Tom Jones.

But it's not unusual to be odd when breaking new ground. Although cast to lead a crusade towards family entertainment, the Cirque's cerebral and moody show might be too frightening for very young children. During a recent performance under the big top, a toddler started to cry at the first signs of deep amber lights and smoke created by machines. Moments later, a woman in the audience, Judy Truelson of Los Angeles, screamed when one of the acrobats accidentally fell on her ankle. Still, at the end of the performance the near-capacity crowd applauded vigorously. "It has more of a Disneyland feel than Vegas," said Barbara Henry, a tourist from San Francisco. But Henry was not in the mood to give a standing ovation—the usual reaction from crowds who see the Cirque on tour. Like most tourists in Vegas, she was fitting in a dose of culture between betting and "other plans." That reaction prompts a shrug from Karen Thomson, who was hired to promote the Las Vegas show. "People are in a hurry here," said Thomson. "You get used to it." But, for performers who have used passion and playfulness to propel themselves into the spotlight, paycheques alone are no substitute for public acclaim.

DIANE BRADY *in Las Vegas*

COUNTDOWN TO THE YEAR 2000

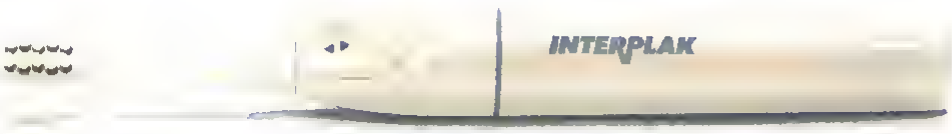
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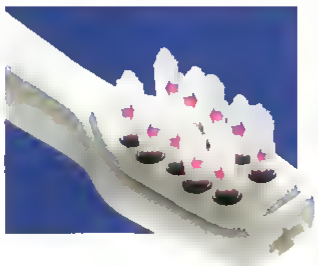
An information and advertising supplement to the June 21, 1993 issue of Maclean's magazine

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COUNTDOWN TO THE YEAR 2000

In 1977, Canada (and 170 other nations at the World Health Assembly) committed to the pursuit of "Health for All by the Year 2000." The architects of that resolution did not naively believe they would achieve a population free of any health problems. Their vision of health for all focused on enabling each individual to lead a productive life by taking control over and improving his or her personal health.

In today's time of rapid change, economic pressures and social stress, a sense of mastery over personal health has become even more important. We smoke less, eat more vegetables, lead more active lives, recycle in an informed manner, reach out to others and advocate universal health care because we know that looking after ourselves and each other is an effective way to improve our well-being and that of our world. At the same time, Canadians have become increasingly aware that social and environmental conditions outside of lifestyle and the health care system greatly affect our quality of life. In the countdown to the year 2000, a job, an education, adequate shelter and equality for all are increasingly important to health. Health, in turn, affects our ability to handle stress and live life to the fullest.





Personal, community and national prosperity depend on healthy, energetic people. A healthy Canada is one in which everyone recognizes that good health is a resource worth pursuing. It means Canadians – backed by knowledge and a supportive environment – making informed choices about their lifestyles, environments and use of the health care system.

Being healthy does not require that we give up food we love nor undertake a rigorous "no pain no gain" exercise regime. Lasting changes are often the result of simple, pleasurable, day-to-day choices. Being healthy is a lot more fun than we had imagined!

But what about the daily bombardment of scary, sometimes contradictory information about cholesterol, fat, salt, exercise, cancer, sex and heart disease? What about the health gurus who promise to reverse aging and boost our immune systems if we eat a certain way, meditate, take a food supplement or participate in a particular type of physical activity? Even though we don't have all the answers, separating facts from fallacies is one of the best ways we can become knowledgeable participants in our own health.

How many misconceptions interfere with your ability to achieve maximum health and well-being?

Healthy Canada: Facts and Fallacies

Fallacy: *Health is only the absence of disease.*
Fact: The World Health Organization has defined health not just as the absence of disease but as something far more positive: as a resource that enables people to achieve their own optimal potential for physical, mental and emotional well-being. When we are healthy we are able to fulfil our needs and aspirations and cope with change. Health is feeling good about ourselves – both individually and collectively – and feeling in con-



trol of what happens to us

Fallacy: *Advances in modern medicine are largely responsible for improvements in health among Canadians*

Fact: While medical advancements have been extremely important in the treatment of illness, experts have shown that the major advances in health achieved in the last century were mainly due to improved living and working conditions a reduced infant mortality rate, better nutrition and an improved food supply, and public health measures, such as sanitation and immunization Even modern improvements, such as a 25 per cent decline in heart disease and a 50 per cent decline in strokes in the last 20 years, have been due more to lifestyle changes, improved standards of living and healthy public policies (e.g., restrictions on smoking at work, taxation on cigarettes, etc.) than to high-tech medicine (as important as it is in times of crisis)

Fallacy: *The Canadian population is basically healthy except for older adults, who tend to be sick a lot more than other Canadians.*

Fact Sixty four percent of Canadians over age 65 claim that their health is good or excellent The vast majority of seniors are healthy enough to live independently and to remain active members of the community The Canadians (of all ages) who are most vulnerable to poor health tend to have low incomes and low levels of education

Stressed Out?

- Percentage of Canadian men aged 35 to 44 who describe life as "very" or "somewhat"stressful 74
- Percentage of Canadian women aged 35 to 44 who describe life as "very" or "somewhat" stressful 73
- Percentage of Canadians who had more than six days a year away from work due to illness among those who perceive life as not at all stressful 14 among those who perceive life as extremely stressful 24
- In 1992, one in three Canadians said they felt 'really depressed' once a month or more

Fallacy: *Stress is bad for your health*

Fact: Dr Hans Selye, the Canadian pioneer of stress research, called stress a continuum that extends from a lack of stimulation (eustress or rust out) to overload (distress or burn out) Since all humans need some stress to be healthy, the trick is to find the spot on the continuum where you feel most comfortable Other research has shown that how we react to stress and whether or not we have control over a stressful situation is more important than the absolute level of stress we experience.

According to a Canadian study, unemployed people report significantly more psychological distress, health problems, hospitalizations and visits to physicians than employed people

Fallacy: *Eating foods labelled "low cholesterol" or "cholesterol free" is a good way to reduce your blood cholesterol levels*

Fact: According to the Canadian Dietetic Association, if you buy potato chips labelled cholesterol-free, you are suffering from a case of "myth information" There is little relationship between dietary cholesterol and blood cholesterol the best dietary way to prevent high blood cholesterol is to reduce your overall intake of fat Choosing low fat foods more often and increasing choices of whole grain products, fruits and vegetables are important ways to reduce fat intake

Fallacy: *To get long-term health benefits you have to exercise strenuously*

Fact Recent research has confirmed that moderate physical activity, such as a brisk walk, is just as effective in terms of cardiovascular health as the sweaty, strenuous kinds Low intensity activities like yardwork and dancing performed regularly also have long-term health benefits. While strenuous physical activity remains good for you, not everyone enjoys it Active living – valuing physical activity and making it part of each day – is a philosophy we can happily take to the year 2000 and beyond

The Canada Health Act, 1984, states that "the primary objective of Canadian health care policy is to protect, promote and restore the physical and mental well-being of residents of Canada and to facilitate reasonable access to health services without financial or other barriers." It calls for national principles for health insurance that include accessibility, comprehensiveness, portability and universality Together, these factors ensure that Canadians have access to necessary health services



From Health Care to Health

As the year 2000 approaches, health care reform has become an issue of public debate and political preoccupation in both Canada and the United States While Canada's health care system is the envy of the world, it is expensive to operate Whether measured in terms of per capita expenditures or as the share of the economy it consumes, Canadian spending on personal health services is the second highest in the world The $67 billion we spent in 1991 represents average expenditures of $2,474 for each one of us – and about 10 per cent of our Gross Domestic Product

Many Canadians are torn between their belief in a universal medicare system and their fear that escalating costs cannot be maintained in the future Public opinion polls show that a major concern is how well the system is being managed, especially as it relates to excessive or unnecessary use Intuitively, Canadians know that unemployment, lifestyle, family violence, poverty and pollution are the kinds of things that make us sick in the first place Will shifting the focus from illness treatment to illness prevention and health promotion address these issues?

The answer to this question depends on two underlying factors:

- our ability to address the underlying determinants of health; and
- our ability to get the most value for the health care dollar by making informed choices about health care, both individually and collectively.

The Determinants of Health

Canadians are justifiably proud of their health care system: accessible, high-quality health care is essential to a healthy population and a prosperous country But health care is only one of the building blocks of health.

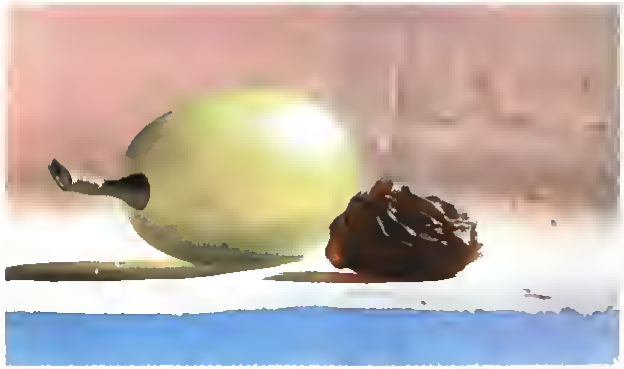
The 1986 Ottawa Charter on Health Promotion, which has been endorsed by countries around the world, identifies the following prerequisites for health: peace, shelter, food, education, income, a stable ecosystem, sustainable resources, social justice and equity Recently, in a thorough review of the evidence, the Ontario Premier's Council on Health, Well Being and Social Justice supported these broad determinants of health and found a particularly strong relationship between health and socioeconomic status In Canada, men in the highest income group live an average of six years longer than those in the lowest income group, women in high income groups live three years longer. The discrepancy is even more pronounced with disabilities In the upper income group, men enjoy 14 more disability-free years, upper-income women experience eight more disability-free years

Despite the evidence that factors outside the formal health care system have the greatest impact on health, Canada continues to spend the lion's share of its $67 billion personal health services budget (1991) on institutions, professional services and drugs Efforts are needed to increase the effective use and value of our health care dollar Research suggests that as much as 30 per cent of health care spending in Canada is either inefficient or inappropriate Our goal is to work toward a more appropriately balanced system that will protect and promote health at the same time as it treats illness Some of the major directions for health care include a commitment to healthy public policy, a focus on community based services, the development of an integrated continuum of care and an emphasis on health promotion

Illness care must become just one component in a system for health that uses education, informed choices, public policy and citizen involvement to protect and promote health and to prevent disease A system for health requires a multisectoral approach that involves consumers, health and social service professionals, self-help groups, health care institutions, the not-for-profit sector, private industry and governments at all levels Policies in areas as diverse as transportation, housing, agriculture, education, taxation, labor, justice, and the environment must be reviewed with a critical eye on their roles in improving physical, mental, social and spiritual well being



IF YOU DON'T DRINK ENOUGH WATER, IT SHOWS.



If you were running low on water, would you recognize the signs? You might feel a little flushed. You might have trouble concentrating on what you're reading. You might have trouble concentrating on what you're reading.

No, that last sentence wasn't a mistake. We printed it twice to illustrate our point. Low concentration could mean you're simply low on water.

You see, feeling thirsty isn't the first sign your body is running low on water. Truth is, if you feel thirsty, you're already dehydrated.

RIGHT NOW. YOU ARE LOSING WATER.

Everyone is losing water every second of every day. In fact, as you sit here and read this ad, your body is slowly losing water.

Under average conditions, you can lose up to two litres of water each day. And if you don't replace it as fast as you lose it, you'll begin to notice.

YOUR BODY RUNS ON WATER.

More than anything else, your body needs water. A lot of it. Like the earth, the average adult body is about two thirds water. And like a machine needs fuel, your body needs water to accomplish vital functions, like regulating temperature, pumping the heart or digesting food.

And don't forget your brain. It also needs water to perform at its optimum level.

THE BIG THREE: EXERCISE, NUTRITION AND HYDRATION.

Carefully watching your health is more than regular exercise and a good diet.

The three most important components of good health are exercise, nutrition and hydration.

Hydration means meeting that unending need for your body's water. It's an act of will.

In other words, it means drinking when you're not thirsty. And like good nutrition and exercise, it means developing good habits.

GOOD HYDRATION PROMOTES GOOD PERFORMANCE.

It's proven. Studies show a two per cent loss of your water level will decrease your work capacity by twenty per cent.

This is typically what an average person would lose during one hour of exercise.

WATER YOURSELF WHILE EXERCISING.

To keep your body's performance at its peak, it's critical to replenish your body quickly.

For best results from your body, you should drink 8 ounces of water before you exercise, drink approximately 4 ounces of water every 15 minutes, and finally drink another 8 ounces 20 or 30 minutes after you've finished.

AND WHAT ABOUT THE REST OF THE DAY?

But just because you can't see or feel water doesn't mean you're not losing it.

For example, you lose water every time you exhale. If it's cold out, you can even see it. And when you least expect it, your body's need for water can increase.

For instance, air travel causes your body to lose water at a much higher rate. The cabin of a plane has the humidity level of the Sahara desert at just 10%.

What can you do about it? Drink more water.

REPLENISHING YOUR BODY.

Your body gets its water from two main sources. First of all, the foods you consume on a daily basis have a high water content.

But more importantly, regularly drinking water and other beverages that are mostly water is critical for replenishing your body.

The truth is, many of us don't drink the recommended eight glasses of water a day.

EVIAN. THE RIGHT CHOICE.

Naturally, the easiest and fastest way to replace your body's lost water is with water itself. It's that simple.

Ideally, the water that best replenishes your body should be bacteriologically pure, and slightly mineralized with a unique and well balanced mineral composition.

One water that meets all these criteria is Evian.

THE PURITY OF THE FRENCH ALPS.

Evian comes from the French Alps, the highest and most extensive mountain range in Europe.

There, the air is clean and the snow is white.

Of course, anything from a place so protected from urban or industrial development is extremely pure.

FILTERED FOR FIFTEEN YEARS.

Evian starts as rain and snow in these mountains. It filters slowly through great depths, through sands of glacial origin enclosed between two layers of impermeable clay.

It is in the course of this journey, lasting at least fifteen years, that the water is purified, acquires its exceptionally balanced mineral composition, and becomes Evian water.

EVERYTHING YOU NEED.

Evian has everything your body needs. It is slightly mineralized with a balanced calcium and magnesium content.

Its PH of 7.18 is virtually neutral, so it is neither hard or irritating.

And with its low sodium and nitrate content, Evian is suitable for all diets, including salt free diets.

Evian is perfect for any age, at any time.

IT MAKES PURE SENSE.

How can you be sure the purity of the French Alps makes it all the way to your body?

Evian is bottled right at the source under advanced conditions, protecting it against any pollutants.

Never altered or treated, its quality is guaranteed through more than 200 microbiological tests conducted on it every day.

As proof of the mountain's purifying abilities, the composition of Evian has been the same for the past 186 years.

THE RESULTS WILL SHOW.

Just by sitting and reading this ad, you've probably lost a little water. However, you've probably gained a little knowledge about hydration.

Regularly replacing the water in your body is crucial for good health.

When your body has all the water it needs, you'll feel better and you'll even look better.

And the right choice for this water is Evian. Drink Evian every day, follow a regular exercise plan, eat well, and over time, it will definitely show.

evian
eau de source naturelle
natural spring water

every day.



Great Beginnings

Canadians value children, both in their own right and because they represent our most precious resource. We have overcome many of the most dangerous threats to young people's health. However, major challenges and risks remain, including injuries, low birth weight, negative lifestyles such as lack of physical activity, pollution, child abuse and other forms of family violence, poverty and emotional distress.

Research continues to confirm a strong relationship between early childhood experiences and long term health. Approximately two thirds of all newborn deaths are low birth weight infants (5.5 pounds/2.5 kg or less). Low birth weight is also linked to higher levels of physical, mental and emotional problems throughout childhood. This disadvantage remains doggedly persistent. One British researcher found a clear link between birth weight and the occurrence of heart disease 50 years later. Men who had the lowest weights at birth and at one year of age had the highest death rates from heart disease.

"This is why prenatal programs that educate families and provide material support to pregnant women who are poor are so important," says Judy Watson, a member of the Family and Child Health Unit at Health and Welfare Canada. "Fortunately, we're beginning to see a number of effective prenatal outreach programs across the country. Whether it is in downtown Vancouver or in an isolated community in the north, helping mothers and families experience a healthy pregnancy pays off in terms of the prevention of physical and psychological problems over the long term."



In Canada, about six babies in every 1,000 live births have low birth weights, a total of 21,000 children each year. The main factors that contribute to low birth weights are poor nutrition before and during pregnancy, early or late maternal age, the use of tobacco, alcohol or other drugs during pregnancy, and low income.

An estimated one fifth of Canada's children live in poverty. In addition to the risk of low birth weight, children in poor families are more likely to eat less nutritious food, to have adjustment problems and to have difficulty in school. There is some good news. The way children are cared for at an early age can positively influence their sense of well-being for the rest of their lives. Children from low income or troubled families who form a strong, loving bond with someone inside or outside the family have higher levels of self esteem and better health than those who do not have this kind of support.

Helping Children to Like Themselves

Children with high self esteem feel confident and positive about their relationships and themselves. Children with low self esteem feel powerless and unworthy – and they are more likely to smoke and drink, to feel depressed, to lack confidence and to drop out of school.

Parents and others who have an influence on a child can help children develop a positive sense of self esteem. Here are some suggestions.

- Encourage children to learn and try new things, encourage them to participate in a positive sport experience, recognize efforts and jobs well done.
- Have reasonable expectations. Give your children tasks and responsibilities at which they can succeed.
- Help your children develop knowledge about and appreciation for people who are different. Teach them to value other people's unique strengths.
- Give children a voice in decisions that affect them.
- Listen. Take their ideas and emotions seriously. Never belittle children.
- Set realistic limits and provide a safe, secure environment that fosters trust.
- Be available. Have fun with favorite activities and enjoy quiet times together.
- Tell children they are worthwhile, regardless of a troubled situation at home or school. Be consistent and fair in applying discipline. Dislike a particular behavior, not the children. Tell your children that you love them.
- Be a good role model. What you do counts more than what you say.

Vital Statistics

- Seventy-five percent of lone-parent families headed by women live in poverty.
- It is estimated that 25 per cent percent of girls and 10 per cent of boys in Canada have been sexually abused before the age of 16.





- Seventy four percent of boys and sixty seven percent of girls aged 11 say, "I have confidence in myself."
- Although healthy aboriginal communities benefit from the respect they hold for their elders, their traditions and healing circles, the rate of infant mortality among First Nation families is about double the national rate, and
- the rate of suicide among First Nation adolescents is up to seven times the national rate.

Health and Wealth

- Fifty-four per cent of Canadians who say their health is poor believe that a more secure income would improve their health.
- Social policies that narrow the gap between top and bottom income groups improve the health of a nation. Studies show greater life expectancies in countries (such as Japan and Norway) that have a small gap between income groups than in countries that have a wide gap (such as the United States and France). This is true even when factors such as smoking and diet are considered.
- A comprehensive study using Canada Pension Plan data showed that retired men between 65 and 70 years of age who were in the highest earning groups before retirement have nearly half the rate of death of men who were in the lowest earnings groups.
- While there appears to be a clear association between health and income, the relationship is not always straightforward. Other factors such as social position, work hierarchies and culturally defined notions of equality also seem to play an important role.



Management, Moderation and the Meaning of Life

In his recent book *Health and Fitness Excellence*, Dr. Robert Cooper warns, "We are about to enter the 21st century with a culture in which many of the brightest people have become obsessed with caring for their bodies and minds – at the same time that the world around them is falling apart due to a lack of caring."

A healthy Canada is not about fanaticism. Nor is health promotion a radically new idea. The belief that health is a societal and environmental issue, as well as a personal one, can be traced back to the early social reforms of the 18th century.

A healthy Canada is about balance, integration, caring and equality. It is about thinking globally and acting locally. Old-fashioned ideas such as managing the environment, moderate living and reconnecting with the meaning of life are back in style.

Managing the Environment

Public opinion polls continue to show that Canadians recognize the importance of a high quality, green environment to health. To achieve this, warns *Our Common Future*, the report of the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development, our environmental resources must be managed in a sustainable way.

Canadians are responding with environmentally considerate lifestyles. In 1990, 65 per cent of Canadians recycled, 59 per cent bought products made of recycled materials and 22 per cent (some 4.5 million people) composted their vegetable, fruit and garden waste.

Now, people are combining their urge to do something positive for the environment with the enjoyment of physical activity in the great outdoors. "Going for Green is a win-win combination," says Michel Bedard, Director of Fitness Canada, Fitness and Amateur Sport. "By combining active living with environmental citizenship, you can enhance your personal quality of life as well as the planet's."

Walk, wheel, cycle or skate for short trips. Cars are the biggest source of greenhouse gases and the largest single cause of smog. Brisk walking, wheeling in a wheelchair, roller-skating and cycling are alternative ways to get from here to there.

Find your bicycle a piece of the road. Cycling advocates are lobbying for a network of safe cycling lanes in communities across Canada, and for accessible bicycle parking for employees. Search for the best and safest available route and ride your bike to work or school; remember to wear your helmets, and encourage your colleagues to do the same. If five million Canadians switched to bicycles for short trips, there would be a reduction of as much as 30 metric tonnes of polluting car emissions over a six-week period.

Use your feet and the bus or subway to get to and from work. Walk all the way or a few extra blocks on either end of your trip. Take a flight or two of stairs, instead of the elevator or escalator, when you get to your destination. If half the workers in Canada who live within walking distance of work left their cars at home, their efforts would save some 22 million litres of gasoline per year.

Participate in recreational sports. Cross-country ski, skate, play badminton, beach volleyball or soccer. Most communities offer outdoor recreation activities that get you involved in the outdoors.

Start at home. Yard work (mowing, raking, digging, etc.) is enjoyable active living. Avoid chemicals, and compost your yard waste. The average Canadian household throws away about 1,000 kilograms (2,200 pounds) of garbage every year. Yard and lawn waste make up about one-quarter of that amount.

Plant a vegetable garden. Gardening is Canadians' second most-popular physical activity (after walking). You can rent a garden plot from the city if you do not have room at home. Look for advice on "drug-free" gardening. Your rewards: feeling great, homegrown flowers and lots of fresh vegetables.

Adopt a stream or river. You can enjoy a waterway on foot or in a canoe and play a stewardship role at the same time. Clean up any debris on the banks and keep an eye out for changes in the shoreline, habitat, wildlife and the water itself. A conservation officer or park staff member can guide you in what to look for.

Moderation

In their breakthrough book *Healthy Pleasures*, authors Robert Ornstein and David Sobel propose a new way to manage health, with less effort and more fun. The key is the pleasure principle, because what we enjoy is likely to be good for us. Using the latest research in biology and psychology, Ornstein and Sobel conclude that the keys to healthy living include positive thinking, humor, helping others and moderation in lifestyle practices.

In the spring issue of *The Wellness Report*, editor Donald Ardell describes a recent talk by a physician who organized his entire lecture around the well-known phrase of "moderation in all things". His advice? "Moderation in all things except laughter, vegetables, fish and sex." The speaker noted that the exceptions were not listed in any particular order and that indulging in all four at the same time should be avoided.

The Meaning of Life

In our collective approach to health promotion," writes health educator Larry Chapman, "we generally feel somewhat embarrassed to mention things like love, joy, peace, sense of purpose, connectedness to others. . . . Should we not strive to broaden our concept of health promotion to include these kinds of issues? Are we only interested in prolonging life and unclogging arteries? I hope not."

There are many ways to clarify meaning in our lives. One way is to reach out to help others, another is to develop a strong sense of community.

In a recent study, an altruistic individual is twice as likely to be happy; a selfish individual is 10 times more likely to be unhappy. According to doctors Ornstein and Sobel, "it appears that the brain cannot do its job of protecting the body without contact with other people. It draws vital nourishment from our friends, lovers, relatives, lodge brothers and sisters, even our co-workers and members of our weekly bowling team."

Until recent years, neighborhoods filled our need for a sense of community. But in recent years, our sense of community has floundered. The Canadian Healthy Communities Network, which is designed to strengthen community action on local health issues, is changing that. Over 200 communities in Canada have joined the network by using local government to declare themselves "healthy communities" and to address local problems that are defined within the community itself. Joy, peace, connectedness to others, altruism and a sense of community – all of these are essential if we are to achieve health for all. ■

Everything Old Is New Again

Just in time. As old ideas like health promotion and sustainable development are rejuvenated in the lead-up to the 21st century, Health and Welfare Canada has released the new *Canada's Food Guide to Healthy Eating*. It replaces the old guide first developed in 1942 at a time when Canadians suffered from nutrient deficiencies due to food shortages.

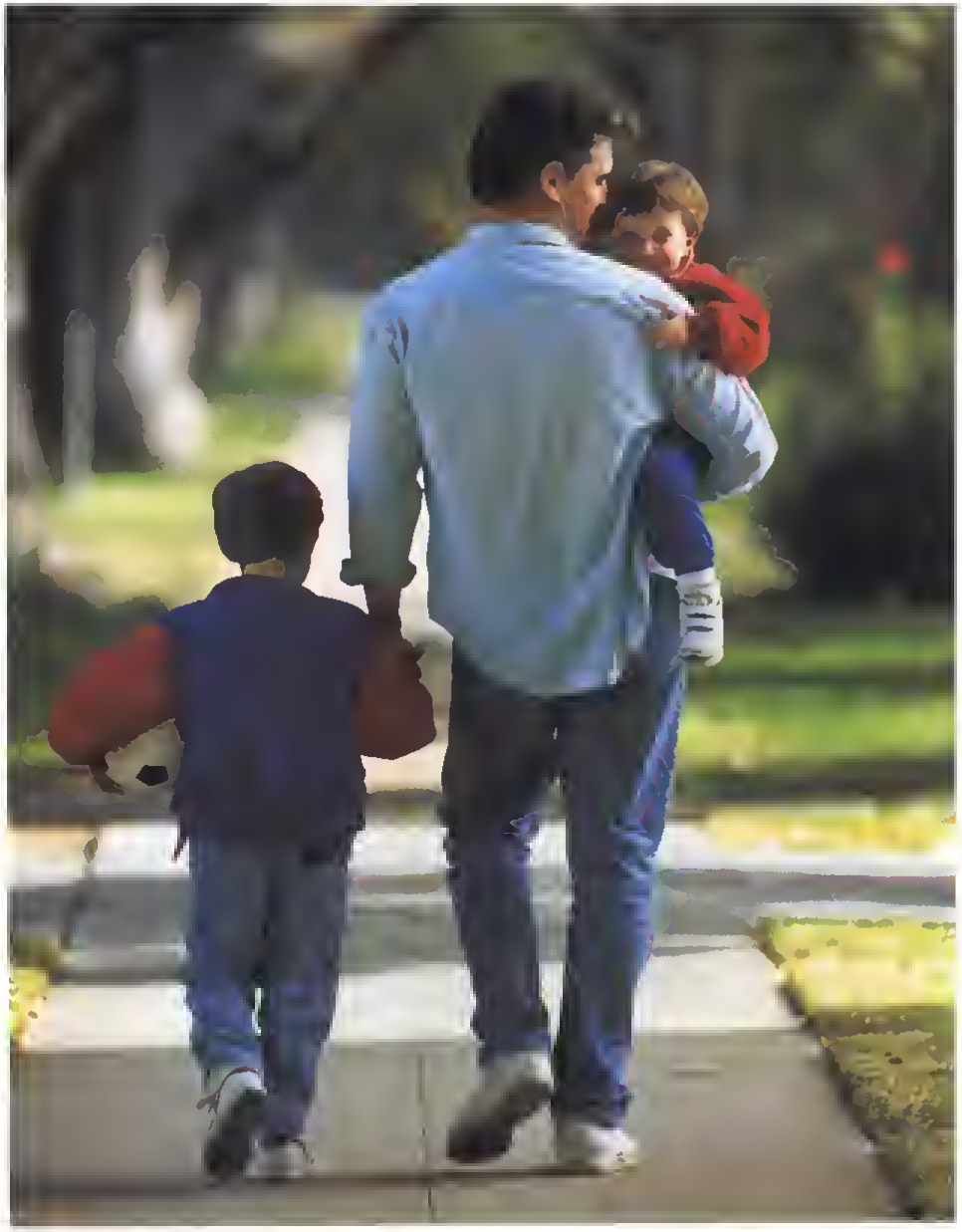
Times have changed. The new food guide takes a total diet approach, guiding consumers who have a wide range of energy needs and enjoy a wide variety of foods. "It is based on a philosophy that there is no such thing as good or bad food," say Heather Nielsen, Chief of Nutrition in Health and Welfare Canada's Health Promotion Directorate.

The new guide includes a visual representation of the need to eat different amounts from each food group (a rainbow shows that grain products, vegetables and fruit should be eaten most often). Other changes include the addition of key messages on 'other foods" category and a revised servings guide that takes into account people's varying energy needs. A free copy of the new *Canada's Food Guide to Healthy Eating* is available at local public health units across the country.

Canada's Seniors: Active, Dynamic and Involved

- Dorothy McCarron, a 65-year-old artist, founded the Nova Scotia Seniors Art Gallery in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The gallery exhibits and sells paintings by local artists aged 50-plus.
- Dorothy Rivers is the 71-year-old past president of the Advocacy Centre for the Elderly, a legal aid clinic in Toronto, Ontario. The Centre produced a manual on elder abuse and co-organized the first national conference on elder abuse.
- Gordon Hirabayashi, 74, is an advocate with the Japanese Canadian Redress Committee on the National Association of Japanese Canadians and the vice-president of the Association of Professors Emeriti at the University of Alberta.
- Arthur Privett, 77, is chair of the Yukon Line of the Life Association, a non-profit organization that provides emergency communications for isolated or vulnerable seniors.
- Marjorie Willson, 69, is president of the Saskatchewan Seniors Fitness Association, vice chairperson of the National Walking Campaign and an active member of the Canadian Seniors Games Association. Through volunteer work and leadership, Marjorie successfully promotes physical activity and sports to Canadians over age 55.

Healthy Canada: Countdown to the Year 2000 was produced by Health and Welfare Canada as part of the Healthy Canada/Canada en santé strategy. Healthy Canada/Canada en santé urges Canadians to be actively involved in their health, the health of their families and communities and their health care system. It recognizes that supportive environments, commitment to the principles of the Canada Health Act and partnerships among governments, the private sector and health organizations are necessary to make this possible.



WHAT'S NUTRASWEET® GOOD FOR?

Let's start with you and yours.

Because NutraSweet is made up of the same ingredients found in many of the wholesome foods you eat every day. So your body knows to treat NutraSweet naturally. Just as it would a peach, banana or glass of milk.

Your body also knows that NutraSweet is good for enjoying the things you like to eat – without all of the unnecessary calories.

Which is why NutraSweet® brand sweetener has been the sweetener of choice for more than a decade. In thousands of different products like soft drinks, yogurt, frozen desserts, juices and even gum.

So eating what you like and still eating right has never been easier.

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A GOOD THING YOUR BODY KNOWS.

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Polls, news and public cynicism

BY GEORGE BAIN

Canadian oews people bave always been dismelined, by modestv no doubt. to say how much they thunk thev influence the way people vote As to the pollsters, if any one of them has ever spoken on the matter except to deny any influence at all, I missed it. But if *they* don t who or what does? What accounts for the phenomenon of the bandwagon and why, as the campaign for the Conservative leadership approached the end, was everybody saying the Kim Campbell camp would be watching nervously the last rush of polling results because delegates might be swayed when they were about to vote?

Polls, of course, are media in themselves, but they speak to the public through television, radio, newspapers and magazines, which in turn are greatly influenced by them in how they cover persons and events Therefore, they are all one in reality If the Campbell people were apprehensive about last-minute influence, where else would they have thought it would come from?

When a front-runner has been established—by the polls having identified one to the more conventional media—that news is passed to the public, which includes the voting delegates They, in turn, are assumed to be influenced by that information Therefore, what automatically follows is an "increased media scrutiny" of that front-runner And what is the logic of all that? Does that mean the news must be slanted away from that candidate, in favor of the candidates whom fewer are assumed to want so as to address the balance? Or what?

If that "increased media scrutiny" is warranted by the need to ensure the delegates have before them every real and conceivable flaw that can be defined in the front-runner's character, policies, or anything else, so that they will not make a bad choice through ignorance, is there not the danger that someone other than the front-runner will be chosen whose flaws of character, policies or anything else have not been similarly exposed? And if that danger is perceived, what other remedy is there than to strive to get out an equal number of negative stories so as to redress the balance once more? And, in that case, what is the result other than that both, or all, contenders are equally diminished, so that public cynicism towards politics at large is raised another notch?

Quite a lot of what was made a great deal of in the reporting of the Tory leadership race was baloney

None of that is to say the media ought not to try to find out and make public everything that is relevant to the likely performance of all candidates, with some emphasis on the relevance But, the whole thing goes wildly wrong if it becomes a simpleminded exercise in knocking people down for the sake of doing so Or, of being macho because that is the recent U S media practice in pre-convention, pre-election reporting Or, of exercising negative influence because it just feels right Great for the ego, but no good for anything else

Quite a lot of what was made a great deal of in the reporting of the Conservative leadership campaign was baloney For example, newspapers and magazines nowadays won t touch anonymous letters and usually take pains to ascertain that the signed ones were actually written by the persons whose names are attached That, in part, is self-protective; publishers if they are going to be sued, like to know the bona fides of the persons who set them up for it. More particularly, though the refusal to publish anonymous letters recognizes that it is grossly unfair to allow someone who is shooting from ambush to use the newspaper to traduce another person with what may be lies

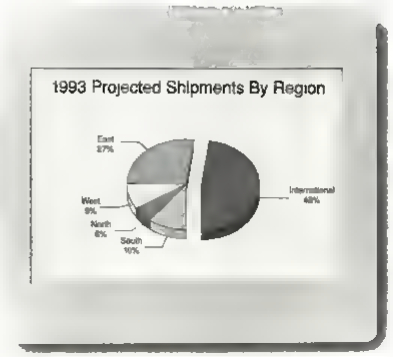
Yet, an anonymous letter was used in the media against Jean Charest in the last days of the campaign Granted, it would be difficult for any news medium not to report on a letter a Liberal MP was waving about Yet that did not wipe out the moral imperative otherwise recognized not to assist in anonymous defamation Newspapers and other media that published what the letter said, because they felt they could not do otherwise, were left with an obligation to prove to themselves it was true—in which case, they could make what they liked of it—or to drop it.

Charest said the allegations were untrue. Tim Ralfe, an aide, at whom a finger had been pointed, had a lawyer's letter delivered to Brian Tobin, the Liberal MP, evidently suggesting some sort of legal action might follow. From that *The Globe and Mail* produced a story that ran under the heading "Tory strategists accused of intimidation" in effect suggesting another misdeed Nothing in the story suggested the newspaper—or Tobin for that matter—knew anything more about the truth or untruth of the anonymous letter than in the beginning That sort of "increased media scrutiny" in a word stinks.

The Sunday before the Tory convention the Newsworld show *On the Line* brought together CBC correspondents from around the country to discuss the campaign. Joe Schlesinger, the CBC s chief political correspondent had it just right when he said it was not so much the Peter C Newman interview with Kim Campbell in *Vancouver* magazine that was responsible for the sharp check the Campbell campaign seemed to have suffered midway, but *The Toronto Star*'s abridgement of it. The clamor became that Campbell was unwisely outspoken a strange thing for anyone in the media to complain about in a politician.

But is it untrue to say that democratic institutions do not run on autopilot, or indefensible to say that people who stand apathetically aside and niggle peevishly are s o b s—or even sons of bitches? Also, read in context, there was nothing offensive—or ought not to have been—in her having said that she a Protestant had gone after a stay at an evidently doctrinaire convent school in pre-Vatican II days to be confirmed as an Anglican, "I suppose as a way of warding off the evil demons of the papacy or whatever." The comment seems to have been wry, not denigrating The *Star* stripped some of the context from the interview in condensing it, and other media stripped more in condensing the *Star*'s condensation eventually to a few catch phrases. One more question What does our public life benefit from that sort of influence?

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PASSION'S PRIZE

Montreal's Stanley Cup triumph touches off joy and violence

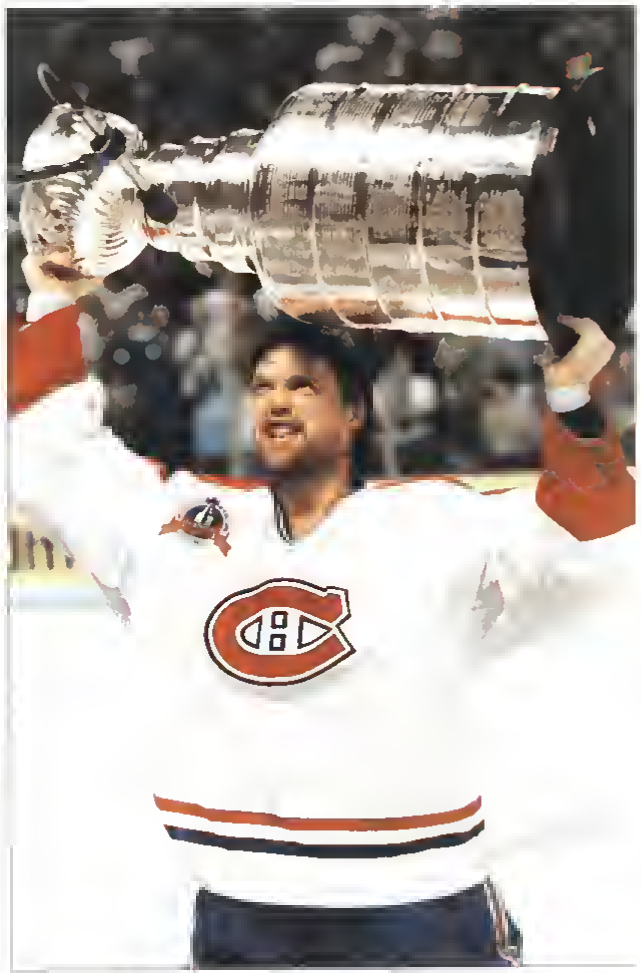


A win. A riot.

They are the two faces of hockey in Montreal and they are fast becoming as inevitable as a Stanley Cup playoff in spring. The first inspires, spawning legends that ornament the history of the celebrated Canadiens club that rolled over the Los Angeles Kings last week to capture the sport's ultimate prize for a record-setting 24th time. But the other face is ugly, a dark byproduct—perhaps—of the charged atmosphere in a town where hockey is not merely a game but a tradition laden, all-consuming passion.

There was a surfeit of both last week in Montreal—enough tradition to warm the hearts of hockey historians and enough passion to provoke tears of speechless joy inside the Forum and a rampage of mindless violence outside. In the centennial year of the Stanley Cup, the venerable trophy returned to the team that has won it more times than any other and to the city where it was first awarded 100 years ago. The Canadiens performed the feat in the storied old building on Ste-Catherine Street that is not only the temple of the sport—scene of countless past glories—but also one that is sadly slated for demolition. And in a potentially poignant footnote, the game's most accomplished athlete may have played his last game in the final encounter of the series—unless, of course, he was merely negotiating for a larger contract. "I'm not sure whether I'm hungry enough to be back," said a downhearted Wayne Gretzky after Montreal's victory over his Kings by 4-1 in the series and in the final game. "I always said I wanted to go out on a high. It could have been higher, but I feel that I played well enough to leave now."

But for all the questions about the Great One, the brightest spotlight shone on the team that proved the greatest this year. Despite the skeptics—and there were many—this year's Canadiens lived up to the impossibly high expectations of Montreal's fans and the demanding legacy of players who have gone before. "We did it!" cried an exultant Kirk Muller, dressed in nothing but drenched skivvies and a black victory hat as he poured vintage French champagne into the Stanley Cup in the team's tumultuous postgame dressing room. "We proved that we're worthy of being in the same room as all of them," he carried on with a nod at the gallery of photos of past Habs—some of them legends of the game—that blankets an entire wall. Pausing to pass the trophy into the hands



Roy in his glory, compiling a peerless overtime string of shutout hockey



Chaos on Ste-Catherine Street: smashed windows, overturned cars and a youth who said, 'We're celebrating, of course'

of equally soaked teammate Brian Bellows, Muller added, more quietly, "The one thing I dreaded above all was to be a member of a Canadiens team that did not win a Stanley Cup." He gave his head a single, rueful shake. "That would have been unbearable."

On the other side of the room, Patrick Roy, winner of the Conn Smythe trophy as the most valuable player in the playoffs for the second time in his career, readily agreed. Slumped against a wall, still in his goalie pads and skates, Roy took a moment to consider what might have happened if the Canadiens, down 2-0 in the opening series against the Quebec Nordiques, had been eliminated in the first round. "It would have been a long summer," he said. "I would probably have been mentioned in trade talks." He straightened, injecting a measure of determination into his voice. "But I don't want to change teams. I can't really explain it, but it's important for me to play for Montreal."

Few of Roy's fellow players, either past or present, dispute that view. Henri Richard, who played on 11 Stanley Cup teams for the Canadiens, more than any other player in the history of the sport, nodded his agreement as he watched the celebrations in the dressing room where his picture occupies a prominent place. "It is a very special team, and winning a Cup is a very special experience," he said. "I don't know exactly what it is, but there is always the expectation around here that all of this is somehow inevitable. It *has* to happen."

Destiny certainly seemed to smile on the Canadiens this year. After overcoming their provincial rivals in Quebec City, the team gathered a momentum that appeared to be blessed. Montreal, which had finished the season in third place in its division (as did Los Angeles, and the defeated semifinalists, Toronto Maple Leafs and New York Islanders), had the good fortune to avoid meeting any of the league's heavyweights in postseason play. Buffalo eliminated the Habs' nemesis, the Boston Bruins, only to be swept four straight by the Canadiens. The Islanders downed highly favored Pittsburgh before losing in five games to the Canadiens. An incredible 10 of Montreal's victories in the four series that culminated in the Stanley Cup came in overtime. Patrick Roy did not allow a single overtime goal after the first game in Quebec—a peerless 96 minutes and 39 seconds of shutout hockey.

Call it luck, or simply clever espionage, but the critical event in the final series with Los Angeles also involved an element of chance. It came in the dying moments of the second game when Montreal coach Jacques Demers, down by a game and behind by a goal, called for a measurement of Kings defenceman Marty McSorley's stick. The ploy worked, resulting in a penalty to McSorley, a last-minute tying goal and another overtime win. "The series turned on Jacques's call," said Roy, prompting him to label Demers "the key player on our team." Maybe so, but to Boston Bruins general manager Harry Sinden, a repeated victim of the ghosts that haunt the Forum, "You always sense something strange is going to happen here—it's just another one of the many traditions about this place."

There are others, much less appealing. Montreal's fervent fans took to the streets 38 years ago to protest Maurice Richard's suspension. The last time the Canadiens won the Stanley Cup, in 1986, joyous supporters celebrated by trashing the downtown core. Only last month, the Quebec courts found Montreal's police negligent in failing to control the 5,000 hockey fans who looted and burned to celebrate the Canadiens' victory over the Calgary Flames. This time, to prevent a repeat occurrence, Montreal's authorities deployed close to 1,000 police, many of them helmeted riot troopers.

But it all proved fruitless. Just moments after Montreal thumped Los Angeles last week, the rioting flared. A mob of thousands ran amok, smashing windows in the Forum and along Ste-Catherine Street. They tore the branches from the frail trees that line the thoroughfare, overturned cars, ransacked more than 100 stores and started bonfires. "We're celebrating, of course," screamed one youth who, after urinating on the windows of a downtown hotel, proceeded, along with several companions, to try to kick in the panels of a network TV van.

When city officials grimly totalled the damage the following day, they found 300 separate acts of mischief. Fifteen city buses and 47 police cars were destroyed. There were 115 arrests, 168 people injured, including 49 police officers. The Insurance Board of Canada estimated the loss in property damage at more than $10 million. It was, said Mayor Jean Doré, "a regrettable and appalling situation."

It was also inexplicable, certainly for those who suffered. "God only knows what gets into these people," said Fred Zaher, who stood holding a bloody handkerchief to his broken nose as he surveyed the damage to his convenience store not far from the Forum. In a town where hockey is as much a religion as a game, perhaps it does require a deity to offer an explanation.

BARRY CAME in *Montreal*

ESCAPE ARTISTS

Three authors roam far corners of the world

Travel is a great test of compatibility. Sometimes people take a holiday together and become closer, sometimes they are heartily sick of each other by the time they get home. Similarly, fans of travel writing wish that some armchair voyages would never end—and find others to be interminable. Along with the many peripatetic authors this season, three with strong and utterly dissimilar personalities convey readers to far away places with strange-sounding names. A collection of informed and intermittently absorbing essays by Vancouver dean of letters George Woodcock spans nearly 40 years. Toronto journalist Paul William Roberts traverses several millennia to create a passionate portrait of Egypt. Meanwhile, *Time* magazine essayist Pico Iyer runs away from America and discovers a parallel universe of odd, lonely places. Three writers, three books, three highly diverse vicarious vacation options.



Roberts on Mount Sinai: intricate and vibrant

The octogenarian Woodcock, a prolific biographer and literary critic, describes himself as "a travel writer deeply concerned with the way people live in the countries where I make my journeys." He is right about that. **Letter from the Khyber Pass and Other Travel Writing**, edited by Jim Christy (Douglas & McIntyre, 213 pages, $16.95), proves that Woodcock is at his best when chronicling the daily routines of living communities rather than ancient ruins. One of the book's best essays is "A Northern Journal," first published in 1969 after a tour of the Canadian Arctic. Woodcock memorably captures the limbo existence of the region's Inuit, caught between their own vanishing traditions and the ways of interlopers from the south. Visiting a new school in Baker Lake, the author laments that "the alphabet is taught by B for Bull and C for Cat in a land of Bears and Caribou." But when he is writing about ancient caves in China or the historic temples of Camodia, his prose becomes aridly pedantic. And no matter where he is, Woodcock seems more inclined to *observe* the locals than to attempt conversation with them. As a result, much of *Letter* reads like a lecture.

Roberts, on the other hand, appears to have talked to about half of Egypt's 55 million inhabitants, including Nobel Prize-winning novelist Naguib Mahfouz and a group of Bedouin nomads. His ambitious book **River in the Desert. Modern Travels in Ancient Egypt** (Random House, 394 pages, $28), is as intricate and vibrant as an Islamic carpet. Present-day Egypt, the author finds, is a land where overwhelming generosity and maddening bureaucracy co-exist, where massive Western hotels are rising—and where the sweat of tourists is crumbling the murals of Tutankhamen's tomb.

The formidably adventurous Roberts (he makes middle-of-the-night ascents of a pyramid and Mount Sinai) is an erudite guide who skilfully interweaves the present with the ancient past. However, as a travel companion, the writer has his faults. His tone is often arrogantly superior. And, for some reason, he succumbs to spells of New Age swoonfulness every time he looks up at the sky. "I lay back, feeling the planet was my pharaonic ship of millions of years, ensnared by a net of starlight," he burbles on one occasion. But Roberts's real passion for his subject makes such lapses forgivable. "If this book encourages one reader to visit Egypt," he writes, "it will have fulfilled its purpose entirely." It certainly succeeds on that count.

While Woodcock can be dry and Roberts sometimes errs on the side of mushiness, Pico Iyer, in **Falling Off the Map: Some Lonely Places of the World** (Random House, 190 pages, $24.50), offers travel writing of a near-perfect consistency. Iyer is the sort of graceful, incisive writer who could make a trip to the Kmart sound fascinating. In *Falling Off the Map*, he concentrates on "the places that don't fit in, the places that have no seat at our international dinner tables."

Iyer's travels take him to such locales as Iceland and the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan, accumulating offbeat experiences the way other travellers amass tacky souvenirs. In the heart of the Paraguayan jungle, he sojourns with hospitable and phenomenally tidy German Mennonites. In Reykjavik, he dines in a dim cavern where waiters dressed in friars' robes serve up pan-fried puffin.

Despite all the amusing anecdotes, however, a melancholy thrum of loneliness pervades the book. Iyer describes Cuba as a mix of elegy and carnival that "catches my heart, then makes me count the cost of that enchantment." Cuba, he adds, is "smiles, and open doors, and policemen lurking in the corners, lazy days on ill-paved streets and a friend who asks if he might possibly steal my passport." Please hang on to your passport, Mr. Iyer, and give armchair tourists the pleasure of travelling with you again.

PAMELA YOUNG

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1 **The Bridges of Madison County,** *Robert Waller (1)*
2 **Pleading Guilty,** *Scott Turow (2)*
3 **The Scorpio Illusion,** *Robert Ludlum (4)*
4 **A Suitable Boy,** *Vikram Seth (3)*
5 **Gai-Jin,** *James Clavell (5)*
6 **Trying to Save Piggy Sneed,** *John Irving (10)*
7 **Griffin & Sabine,** *Nick Bantock (6)*
8 **The Client,** *John Grisham (9)*
9 **Like Water for Chocolate,** *Laura Esquivel*
10 **Headhunter,** *Timothy Findley (7)*

() *Position last week*

NONFICTION

1 **The Great Reckoning,** *James Dale Davidson and Lord Rees-Mogg (1)*
2 **Shifting Gears,** *Nicola Beck (10)*
3 **Women Who Run with the Wolves,** *Clarissa Pinkola Estes (3)*
4 **Culture of Complaint,** *Robert Hughes*
5 **Post-Capitalist Society,** *Peter Drucker (4)*
8 **Jagger Unauthorized,** *Christopher Andersen (6)*
7 **Systems of Survival,** *Jane Jacobs (5)*
8 **The Fifties,** *David Halberstam*
9 **Pledge of Allegiance,** *Lawrence Martin (9)*
10 **Preparing for the Twenty-first Century,** *Paul Kennedy (2)*

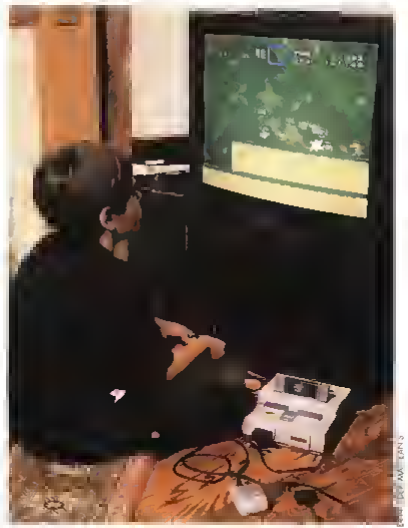
Compiled by Brian Bethune

Playing for keeps

Nintendo has a firm grip on kids' minds

GAME OVER
By David Sheff
(Random House, 432 pages, $31.50)

Billboards advertising the new *Super Mario Bros.* action movie, based on characters from the enormously popular Nintendo video games, ominously state: "This ain't no game." They ain't kidding. In his book *Game Over*, U.S. writer David Sheff lays bare the corporate machine beneath the high-technology "fun" of Japan's most profitable company, Nintendo Co. Ltd. of Kyoto. As Sheff painstakingly documents the history of Nintendo and its relentless rise to dominance of the global toy industry, he effectively—and permanently—debunks any romantic notion of eccentric elfin inventors creating games for delighted children around the world. Instead, the author depicts a cut-throat business that fuels demand for its own product through the blatant manipulation of youngsters—and that routinely engages in vicious legal battles and high-powered politics.

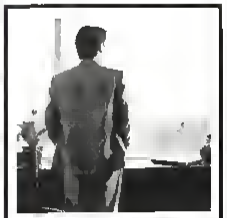


Nintendo player in action: manipulation of youngsters?

Sheff incorporates an almost indigestible number of gee-whiz business facts in *Game Over*. Nintendo is bigger than Sony and earns more on a per-employee basis. The company's sales reached $4.7 billion last year, generating more profit than the three major U.S. television networks combined. By 1990, there were Nintendo games in one-third of all the households (30 million homes) in North America, where it had been launched about a decade earlier. But, to Sheff's credit, he also delves deeper. The author provides valuable insights into Nintendo's highly focused marketing strategy—and into the market itself. Nintendo's enormous success in North America tells volumes about the status and style of modern family life. The company has managed to weave itself into the fabric of the family partly by establishing direct communication, through special telephone lines, newsletters, magazines and a "Fun Club," with a generation of computer-literate children who are more frequently left alone while their parents work.

In attempting to deconstruct Nintendo's hypnotic hold, Sheff notes that part of the appeal is a deft homogenization of folklore, literature and pop culture, as well as its exceptionally interactive nature. Unlike TV viewing, which is basically passive, Nintendo lures children into a personal universe where they can exert control and make critical choices. As the popularity of Nintendo has increased steadily over the past five years, Sheff writes, "It was as if America's kids had joined a cult and were under the spell of a cartoon character who did the bidding of a hidden Japanese lord."

The software or "game" component of the Nintendo "entertainment system" is by far the most critical. It must catch the players' attention within seconds and retain the game's challenge by keeping it fresh and complex, but not overly frustrating. Each game cartridge costs about $45, and the most popular, including Super Mario Bros. and Tetris, sell millions of copies. The third



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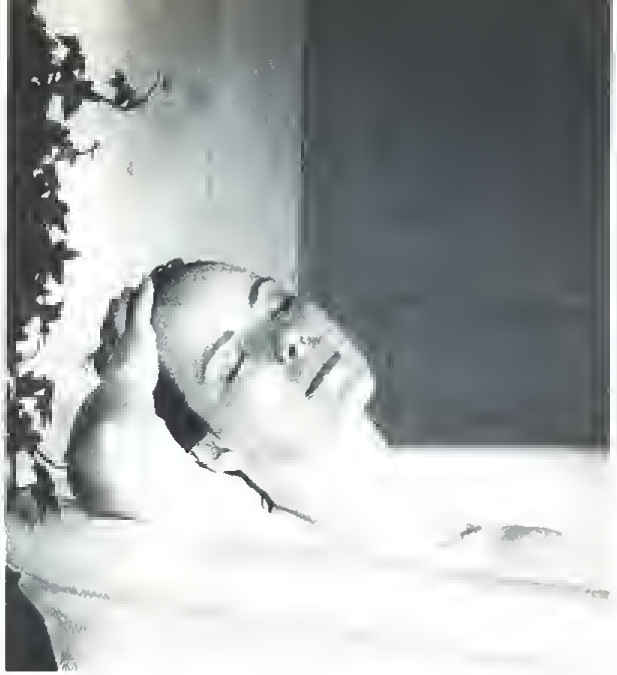
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version of Super Mario Bros., featuring Mario and his brother, Luigi, has sold about seven million copies in North America and four million in Japan.

Sheff's discussion of the subliminal lessons contained in Nintendo's extensive library of over 1,000 games is similarly intriguing. While such classic children's characters as Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse preach harmony and fair play, the existential world inhabited by one Nintendo hero, Mario the Plumber, is fraught with confrontation and apparently insurmountable obstacles. Explains Sheff: "Mario imparted other values—kill or be killed. Time is running out. You are on your own."

Indeed, many of those same values seem to apply to the toy business itself. *Game Over* chronicles the development of Nintendo from a playing-card manufacturer founded in 1889 into a dominant global presence in the world of high-tech entertainment a century later. Along the way, Sheff introduces a rich cast of characters, including the autocratic Hiroshi Yamauchi, who has run the company with an iron fist since 1949, and his determined son-in-law, Minoru Arakawa. Like a valiant video-game protagonist, Arakawa successfully established Nintendo in North America during the past decade, despite repeated setbacks and the huge odds against his success.

After a fierce corporate rivalry over-saturated the video-game market in the late 1980s and drove prices down to devastating lows, Nintendo persevered and gained a new grip on the battered U.S. market. Sheff turns the account of Arakawa's struggle—and eventual triumph—into an analysis of some of the key differences between Japanese and North American business culture. He focuses on the Japanese corporate tradition that encourages executives to retain a strong commitment to one specific goal as well as the longer term horizon of Japanese investors, which prevents pressure for immediate financial returns on ventures.

Many readers will find cause for concern in Sheff's description of Nintendo's calculated appeal to its young consumers and its careful control over supply and pricing of its products. But his depiction of Nintendo's U.S. rivals is even more unflattering. Thwarted in their attempts to win a legal challenge against Nintendo's allegedly monopolistic business practices, companies including Atari and Magnavox easily succeeded in their appeal to American xenophobia and partisan politics. By convincing some congressmen that a Japanese company was taking unfair advantage of a lucrative U.S. market, Atari managed to launch a series of trade investigations that, in 1990, resulted in a $30-million fine for Nintendo as well as a $20-million legal defence bill. But given the annual profits of the company, those measures are minor—and Nintendo appears to have beaten those rivals at their own game.

DEIRDRE McMURDY



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Strippers shimmy with Shakespeare at Stratford



Lund in Gypsy: robustly entertaining and emotionolly honest

Brian Macdonald knows a lot about stripping. More than four decades ago, the director and choreographer of *Gypsy*, the musical about burlesque queen Gypsy Rose Lee now playing at Ontario's Stratford Festival, was a young music critic for *The Montreal Herald*. His beat took him to the city's Gaiety burlesque house, where he became backstage friends with the legendary stripper Lily St. Cyr. "She was an extraordinarily glamorous woman with a very, very beautiful body," Macdonald recalled in an interview last week. "And she had this wonderful haughtiness. After she'd taken a few things off, she'd half cover herself with the curtain and say, 'That's it, boys. You're not gettin' any more from me.'"

Macdonald has incorporated some of those memories into his compelling *Gypsy*, which, along with three Shakespearean plays (*King John, Antony and Cleopatra* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), recently launched the 41st annual festival in Stratford, 150 km southwest of Toronto. Macdonald's production plays with all the paraphernalia of burlesque's golden age: the boas, G-strings, pasties and feathers. But it is a serious musical, too, especially in its portrait of Rose (Sandra O'Neill), the mother of Gypsy (Monique Lund). She is a driven woman who pushes her two daughters into show business to satisfy her own hunger for attention. For Macdonald, it is the psychological undercurrents of the piece, so brilliantly caught in its ironic songs by composer Jule Styne and lyricist Stephen Sondheim (with book by Arthur Laurents), that make *Gypsy* worthy of the classically oriented festival. "If you have Moliere on that stage on Friday night and Shakespeare on Saturday afternoon, you can't do some light, entertaining dinner theatre piece on Saturday night," said the lanky, balding director, 65. "You have to take very seriously how you portray life on that stage."

On the morning after *Gypsy*'s première, Macdonald relaxed in the old Stratford house that he shares with his wife, former prima ballerina Annette av Paul. The back windows give a view of a beautifully kept garden that slopes to the Avon River. An antique sideboard is crowded with gifts from Macdonald's opening night well wishers. He and his wife cherish their Stratford nest because it brings a sense of rootedness to their itinerant lives. Av Paul is the director of dance at l'Ecole Pierre Laporte, a Montreal high school specializing in performing arts. Macdonald runs the summer dance program at the Banff Centre—as well as travelling frequently to other countries to stage ballets, operas and musicals. Canada's best-known choreographer has lived in many European capitals but loves small-town Stratford where, as he puts it, "You can still put a nickel in the parking meters."

Born in Montreal in 1928, Macdonald worked briefly at the *Herald* before becoming one of the original members of the National Ballet of Canada in the early 1950s. Then, in 1954, a serious arm injury led him to divert his ambitions to choreography. He worked with CBC TV in Montreal and, in 1958, began a productive freelance association with the Royal Winnipeg Ballet. Later, he choreographed in New York and in Stockholm, where he became the artistic director of the Royal Swedish Ballet—and first met av Paul.

Macdonald is known as an exceptionally tough director. He admits that, earlier in his career, he was "harder to work with. I wanted to see specific things right away and I wanted it perfect in 10 minutes." Now, he claims, he has relaxed about the process of creating a new show, and is more likely to let dancers improvise and suggest ideas of their own.

Yet his insistence on bringing every production to a high polish is as strong as ever. Macdonald says that he developed his perfectionism during his early Winnipeg and Montreal phases. It was then that he got to know two directors who would become prominent in Canadian theatre: John Hirsch and Jean Gascon. The three men agreed that standards in the country's performing arts were simply not high enough, Macdonald recalled, and they set out to change them. Now, Macdonald rejoices that many Canadian dance and theatre productions are on a par with the world's best. It is different, he claims, in Australia, where a few years ago he directed a production

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of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Gondoliers*. "Australian performers are an energetic, slam-bang type of people who were fun to work with," he recalled. "But they had no idea of the standard we work to in Canada. So I had to push and pull and sharpen my elbows. I'm sure they couldn't wait to get me on the plane home."

Macdonald's decision to base himself in Canada has nothing to do with a lack of opportunities elsewhere. In 1979, he turned down a chance to run the ballet at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin. "If I'd taken that job," he said, "I'd just be a little asterisk in their history. Here, you feel more of a need for obsessive people like me—you feel you're contributing to the artistic growth of the nation." The ever-busy Macdonald will remount his wildly successful *Mikado* at Stratford in July (it played there 10 years ago). From there, he will move on to Banff, Montreal and Detroit to stage works as diverse as his ballet *The Shining People of Leonard Cohen* to Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*. There is plenty of demand, it would seem, for a choreographer-director with high standards—and sharp elbows.

REVIEWS: Lovers and warriors

Gypsy is an exceptional musical because of the stubbornness with which it pursues the truth about its characters. Laced with irony, it offers up songs laden with more meaning than their singers often understand. Taken out of context, the number *Everything's Coming Up Roses* seems like a simple example of old-fashioned American optimism. But performed by the magnificent Sandra O'Neill, her voice brassy with a determination that barely hides the anger beneath, the song vibrates with subtle menace. Yet O'Neill's Rose is charming as well as neurotic, and it is easy to see why Peter Donaldson's immensely likable Herbie falls in love with her. Robustly entertaining, without surrendering an inch of emotional honesty, Macdonald's *Gypsy* is populated with real people, not the caricatures that throng so many musicals.

On the classical front, the deficit-ridden festival (it is $760,000 in the red) is staging only three plays by Shakespeare this year instead of the usual four or five. Director Robin Phillips's clear and exquisitely composed production of *King John* is easily the best. Set in the Middle Ages, the seldom produced play concerns the rivalry between the French court of King Philip (William Webster) and the English court of King John (Nicholas Pennell). Phillips has stationed the two camps at either end of the Tom Patterson Theatre's long, narrow stage—like opposing hockey teams. The production emphasizes the domestic turmoil in both royal households. Sometimes the women egg on the men, sometimes they are mere pawns in the men's power games. John strikes a temporary alliance with his rival by marrying off his niece, Blanche (Michelle Risk), to the French dauphin (Diego Matamoros). But the alliance breaks up at the wedding party: Phillips shows the anguished Blanche being pulled in a tug of war between the rival courts. Then in a daring piece of staging, the cast mimes a raging bonfire, clapping hands and snapping fingers to evoke flames engulfing the table where the wedding feast has been set.

Taking advantage of the Tom Patterson's small confines, Phillips has fashioned a production of great intimacy. The actors scarcely need raise their voices to be heard. At times they murmur, their speech caught by hidden microphones. It is like listening to their private thoughts. Beautifully spoken and acted, this moving production is one of Stratford's all-time finest.

Director Joe Dowling's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, on the other hand, may well be one of the festival's all-time funniest. It is so relentlessly amusing that the four young Athenian lovers draw more laughs than the play's usual comedians—the band of oafish workmen who also get lost in the enchanted woods of the fairy king Oberon (Colm Feore). Sheila McCarthy's bookish Helena is a delight as she primly double-takes her way through the erotic confusions spun by Oberon's fairy sidekick, Puck (Frank Zotter). And Feore's Oberon moves and speaks with a dark, razor-like sexuality. But the biggest star of the show is designer Hayden Griffen's inflatable set, which turns the trees and rocks of Oberon's forest into huge, colorfully mottled sex organs—like something dreamed up by David Cronenberg. On its spongy, trampoline-like surfaces, the lovers and fairies and rustics bounce, slither, sleep, fight and make love with such hilarious comic abandon that Shakespeare's beautiful poetry is too often pushed into the background.

Meanwhile, Richard Monette, who next season takes over as Stratford's artistic director from David William, has directed an *Antony and Cleopatra* that celebrates middle-aged sexuality. Leon Pownall offers a grizzled, overweight Antony to match Goldie Semple's fading, devious vamp. The chemistry between the two Stratford veterans is volatile and convincing: they bring the core of the play alive. And Stephen Ouimette, in his first major Stratford appearance in 10 years, turns Octavius Caesar, Antony's political rival, into a complex creature who combines a sensual lust for power with a puritanical private life. Ouimette, who is also a standout as Philip the Bastard in *King John*, proves that a light tenor voice need be no obstacle in dominating the Stratford stage if it is combined with accomplished acting. But beyond those three actors, the production has several unfulfilled roles and, as well, suffers from the absence of a clear thematic concept such as the ones that animate *King John* and *Gypsy*. In those productions, the Stratford Festival is at its best, offering not only fine individual performances but the mark of a director's unique vision on every scene.

JOHN BEMROSE



Semple (centre) in Antony and Cleopatra: a fading vamp

COLUMN



Turn her loose: let Kim be Kim

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The fractious Tories, famous for eating their young, are back to their Diefenbaker best. Their gathering in the old Ottawa ice rink, steamy as a sauna in June deodorant weather, takes them to an uneasy alliance in their upcoming meeting with the Grits at the ballot box as the leaves fall this autumn.

Queen Kim Campbell—Our Lady of the Helicopters as Mordecai Richler has dubbed her—is going to have mortal trouble drawing the party together. As a leader who clearly emulates Maggie Thatcher at her fishwife-best, she has some task before her.

As the sweat-stained multitudes waited in the weary Sunday hours to hear the inevitable second ballot denouement to her ascension, the mellifluous Hughie Segal confided to insiders that he wasn't about to travel the stump trail in an election on behalf of a woman who never knew what she was going to say when she opened her mouth.

Journalists, of course, are agog at the juicy spectacle about to be put before them, rather like a gourmand offered a feast only available to ancient Romans at a poolside orgy. Covering the first female prime minister in the country's short history will be somewhat like tape recording a combination of Bill Vander Zalm and Pierre Trudeau.

Jean Charest is a nice boy, but a safe boy. In his entire campaign, he made only one small mistake—his puzzling goof of speculating that he might not serve in a Campbell cabinet if he lost, a convoluted elocution that succeeded only in making him appear petulant, the least of his faults.

By contrast, following the golden girl with a tape recorder became like traversing Somali minefields without a road map. Her motor-driven tongue is liable, at any pit stop or baby kissing occasion, to emit the stuff that makes headlines tomorrow morning. Peter C. Newman, with a bottle of good wine over a three-hour lunch, managed to almost unhorse a candidate who had, according to the God Gallup, wrapped up the crown months earlier.

The party that was represented in the Ottawa ice palace by delegates two-thirds male with an average annual income of $69,400 naturally would not embrace her history making victory. After getting 48 per cent of the votes on the first ballot, she could move only 153 delegates—out of more than 1,800 who were against her—to her side on the winning ballot after the three minor candidates had abandoned the battlefield.



ROY PETERSON

In other words, only about a third of dissidents who were worried about her supported her on her winning vote. Even though Jim Edwards, who did his John Wayne image throughout and then in sly Ottawa fashion went to what he thought would give him the highest cabinet post, hardly had half his delegates following him and casting their final votes with him.

A candidate who gets a cinch 48 per cent of the votes on the first ballot and then can garner only 153 reluctant converts on the second attempt—while almost twice that many are going to the boy scout Charest—is someone who is going to have some difficulty uniting the party.

The Tories, because the outgoing leader with his stratospheric ego has wiped out the advent of the newcomer, are already in a fix with the somnolent Liberals. One could imagine, even without much insight, the Grit strategists opening the bubbly as each smarmy minute passed in the Mulroney televised farewell tribute.

Is there a law that the CBC must gavel-to-gavel broadcast this tripe? Alan Thicke from downtown Kirkland Lake with his Edgar Guest imitation of fawning doggerel? The $300,000 production of old home movies on what Brian used to do on his summer holidays? If I were a Liberal pollster, I would have been not beaming but gleaming.

An old pro who has been around since Adam was a pup and was involved in convention arrangements allowed, shaking his grey head, that it was the first Conservative convention he had ever attended that had condom machines in the washroom. Even more important than that historic occasion is the fact that the party is split between those determined that it should not present before the electorate another prime minister from Quebec and those who are suspicious that they may be led by a space cadet whose ambitions exceed her common sense.

What was quite clear, in the space where the Zam-boni usually takes the place of oratory about deficit reduction, is that the kid from Sherbrooke is the more stable, rehable item on the grocery shelf. While the other off-the-wall item had the heavy money and the Establishment backing and the handlers and spin-doctors who, in the final stages, had her reading trite prescriptions from texts that had been prepared by nasal technicians who embraced cliches like lovers.

Those of us who cherish chaos look forward to the days before Halloween, by which time the nation's fate must be determined. Once in power in 24 Sussex Drive, she may—we hope—sack all the flacks and fixers and mind-surgeons who had turned her final, tremulous hours into such a bore.

Let us hope they let loose on us the True Kim, the one who used to commiserate in the B.C. legislature with the Opposition NDP members about "the scabs on your knuckles" and the fact that they hadn't obviously read a bill because "after three pages your lips get tired."

Let her loose, you dumbos! It worked for Trudeau. It's your only hope that it might work for you.

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